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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.—By ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER, Professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

COMMENTARY.¹

THE Commentary herewith presented follows Ibn Hazm's text published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28–80, by page and line. In marking the lines, I have counted *every* line on the page, including the superscriptions. The footnotes are not quoted by the line but by the number prefixed to them. In the case of some very long footnotes, I also added the line of the footnote referred to.

I prefix a "List of Cited Works," giving all the authorities (with short biographical dates) regularly or frequently quoted in this treatise. The abbreviations under which they are quoted are made noticeable to the eye.² Books only incidentally referred to are omitted in this list. MS. before the title signifies that the book has not yet appeared in print and has been used in manuscript.

In quoting from Arabic sources I have discriminated between printed works and manuscripts. The latter I quote in the original; the former I give—except in cases of necessity—in

¹ Continued from Vol. xxviii, pp. 1–80.

² To simplify the abbreviations, I purposely neglect the rules of exact transliteration.

translation, as the text itself is accessible to the specialist. In translating from the printed edition of Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal*, I usually attach the important variants from the manuscripts at my disposal.

I plead guilty to being inconsistent in transliterating the Arabic. Such inconsistencies are scarcely avoidable. The specialist will pardon them, the layman will hardly notice them.

As regards the index to this treatise, I refer the reader to my remarks in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, p. 27.

List of Cited Works.

Abulfeda. Abū'l-Fidā [d. 732/1331], *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Adler, Hafniae 1789-94.

Abu'l-Maali. Abū'l-Ma'ālī [wrote about 485/1092. Descendant of Ali. *Imamite*], *Kitāb bayān al-adyān* (in Persian), printed in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. I (Paris, 1883), pp. 132-171. *The quotations refer to the Persian text.*

Agh. Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī [d. 356/967], *Kitāb al-Aġānī*, Būlāq.

Agh. Tables. I. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-Aġānī*. Leyden, 1895-1900.

Anon. Sufi. MS. Anonymous work on Sufism. The author quotes Yāfi'i, who died 768/1366. Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 3397.

Bagd. MS. On Baġdādī [d. 429/1038] and his work, see Introduction to this treatise, p. 26.

Blochet, *Le Messianisme et l'hétérodoxie Musulmane*. Paris, 1903.—Draws largely on Persian (Shiitic) sources.

de Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islam*. English translation. London, 1903.

Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. I-II. Leipzig, 1898-1902.

Diyarbekri. Diyārbekrī [died after 982/1574], *Ta'rikh al-Khamīs*. Cairo, 1283^h.

Dozy, Isl. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, traduit du Hollandais par Victor Chauvin. Leyden-Paris, 1879.

Führ. Nadīm [wrote 377/988]. *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel. Leipzig, 1871-2.

Gen. Leyd. MS. Kitâb tahdîb al-ansâb wa-nihâyat -al-a'kâb. An anonymous genealogy of the Alides [fourth century H.]. Cod. Leyden (Warner 686). *Not paginated.*

de Goeje, Carmathes. de Goeje, Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides [Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie orientales No. 1]. Second edition. Leyden, 1886.

Goldziher, Muh. St. Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien I-II. Halle 1889-1890.

Goldziher, Shi'a. Goldziher. Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Ši'a und der sunnitischen Polemik. Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 78 (1874), p. 439 ff. Vienna.

Haarbrücker. German translation of Shahrastâni I-II. Halle, 1850-51. *Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.*

IAth. Ibn al-Athîr [d. 630/1234]. Chronicon quod Perfectissimum inscribitur, ed. C. J. Tornberg. Leyden, 1851-76.

IBab., Ithbat. Ibn Bâbüye [d. 381/991. *Imamite*], Kitâb fi ithbât al-ğaiba wa-kashf al-ğaira, ed. Möller, Heidelberg, 1901.

IBab., I'tikadat. MS. Ibn Bâbüye (see above), I'tikâdât al-Imâmiyya. Cod. British Museum (Add. 19,623). See de Rieu, Catalogue p. 385.

I. H. Ibn Hâzm [d. 456/1064], the author of our text. See Introduction, p. 9 ff.

IĤaukal. Ibn Ĥaukal [wrote 367/977], ed. de Goeje [Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum II]. Leyden, 1873.

Iji. Īji [d. 756/1355]. Mawâkıf, ed. Sörenson. Leipzig, 1848.

Ikd. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [d. 328/940], al-'İkd al-farîd, I-III. Cairo, 1293. *If not otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.*

IKhald. Ibn Khaldûn [d. 808/1406], Muḳaddima, ed. Quatremère I-III. [Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale voll. 16-18] Paris, 1847-1858.

IKhall. Ibn Khallikân [d. 681/1282], Kitâb wafayât al-a'yân, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1835-43.

IKot. Ibn Koteiba [d. 276/889], Kitâb al-ma'ârif, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1850.

Isfr. MS. On Isfrâ'îni [d. 471/1078], see Introduction, p. 26.

Istakhrî [wrote 340/951], ed. de Goeje [Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum I]. Leyden, 1870.

Kashi.¹ Abū ‘Amr Muhammed b. ‘Omar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Kashshī (from Kashsh in Jurjān) [approximately 300^h.² *Imamīte*], Ma‘rifat akhbār ar-rijāl. Biographies of Shiitic worthies chronologically arranged. Bombay 1317^h.—The author apparently draws on old and rare sources.

Kremer, Ideen. Kremer, Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams. Leipzig, 1868.

Lubb al-Lubāb. Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], Lubb al-lubāb fi taḥrīr al-ansāb, ed. P. J. Veth. Leyden, 1830–32.

Makr. Makrīzī [d. 845/1442], Kitāb al-mawā‘iz wa’l-i‘tibār bi-dikrī’l-khiṭaṭ wa’l-āthār, I–II. Būlāk, 1270^h. Draws partly on very old sources. *Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. II.*

Masudi. Mas‘ūdi [d. 345/956]. Murūj al-ḍahab, ed. Barbier de Meynard, I–IX. Paris, 1861–77.—His information is incidental and brief, but extremely valuable.

Mirza. MS. Mīrzā Makhdūm [about 1594], Risālat an-nawāḥiḍ fi-radd ‘alā-r-Rawāfiḍ. A polemical treatise against Shiism. Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 2136.

Nawawī, Tahḍīb. Nawawī [d. 676/1278], Tahḍīb al-asmā wa’l-luḡāt, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1842–7.

PRE³. Protestantische Realencyklopädie, ed. Herzog and Hauck. Third edition.

de Sacy. Exposé de la religion des Druzes, I–II. Paris, 1838. *Quotations in Roman figures refer to vol. I.*

Shahr. Shahrastānī [d. 548/1153], Kitāb al-Milāl wa’n-Niḥāl, ed. Cureton I–II. London, 1842–6. *Quotations refer to vol. I.*

Sibt, Imams. MS. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī [d. 654/1257], Kitāb sirat maulāna Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-Imām ‘Alī . . . wa-aulādihi.

¹ Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention to this work.

² I have been unable to find any statement bearing on the age of this author. The date given in the text is based on the following calculations. al-Kashshī was a pupil of al-‘Ayyāshī (edition of his work, p. 379). The latter is no doubt identical with *Fihrist* 195¹⁴, and Tusy, *List of Shy‘ah books*, No. 690. Neither of these authors give his age. But according to Tusy, ib., al-‘Ayyāshī “heard the disciples (aṣḥāb) of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl” who died 224^h (Tusy, No. 191). This justifies the rough estimate given in the text.

A biography of Ali and his successors in the Imamate. Cod. Leyden (Warner 915).

Suyuti, Tarikh. Suyûṭî [d. 911/1505], Ta'rikh al-Khulafâ, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawî 'Abd al-Hakḳ. Calcutta, 1857.

— translated into English by H. S. Jarrett. Calcutta, 1881.

Tab. Tabari [d. 309/921], Annales, ed. de Goeje.

Tusy. Tûsî [d. 459/1067. *Imamite*]. List of Shy'ah books, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawî 'Abd al-Hakḳ. Calcutta, 1853-5.

van Vloten, Chiitisme. van Vloten, Recherches sur la Domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les Croyances messianiques dans le Khalifat des Omayyades. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, No. 3.] Amsterdam, 1894.

van Vloten, Worgers. von Vloten, Worgers in Iraq [Feestbundel . . . van zijn tachtigsten geboortedag aan Dr. P. J. Veth]. Leyden, 1894. (See this volume, p. 92.)

Wellhausen, Opp. Wellhausen, Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam. Berlin, 1901. [Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Band V, Nro. 2].

Wolff, Drusen. Wolff, Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer. Leipzig, 1845.—Based on de Sacy.

Wüstenfeld, Register. Wüstenfeld, Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen. Göttingen, 1853.

Wüstenfeld, Tabellen. Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien. Göttingen, 1852.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Zeid. MS. al-Kâsîm b. Ibrâhîm al-Ĥasanî [d. 246/860. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], a volume containing miscellaneous Zeiditic writings (19 in number). Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 4876. Contains reliable and, in view of the early date of the author, extremely valuable information.

Zeid. Mutaz. Aḥmad b. Yahya b. 'l-Murtaḏâ [d. 840^h. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], Kitâb al-Milal wa'n-Nihâl. Chapter on the Mu'tazila, ed. Arnold. Leipzig, 1902.

Yakut. Yâḳût [d. 626/1229], Geographical Dictionary ed. Wüstenfeld I-VI. Leipzig, 1868-73.

List of Abbreviations.

Codd.=Codices: the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihal in distinction from the printed edition.

Comm.=Commentary to Ibn Ḥazm's Milal published in this volume.

Ed.=printed edition of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihal.

Introd.=Introduction to this treatise in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 1-28.

Milal=the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihal:

Br = British Museum.

L = Leyden.

V = Vienna.

Y = Yale.

See Introd., p. 17.

Note, with a number following, refers to the footnotes under the *Text* (see next).

Text=Text of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28-80.

Small figures above large figures indicate the line on the page referred to. When underlined, the small figure indicates that the lines are to be counted from below.

-
- [28] P. 28, l. 21 f.¹ I am not sure that I have correctly rendered the words of the original (Ed. II, 111⁵): **وَإِيرَادَ مَا شَغَبَ بِهِ** (LVY read **بِهَا**). **مِنْ شَغَبَ مِنْهُمْ فِيمَا غَلَطَ فِيهِ مِنْ تَحْلُتِهِ**.

The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear. It largely depends on the interpretation of the verb **شَغَبَ**. The latter, followed by **عَلَى**, **فِي**, or **بِ**, usually designates "to excite, stir up evil, mischief or discord, against or among people" (Lane). We have translated accordingly, taking **بِهِ** as referring to **تَحْلُتِهِ** and **بِهَا** to **فَحْلُ** in the preceding sentence. But our author, who is apparently very fond of this word, seems to use it in a somewhat different sense. Thus Ed. II, 131²² **فَكُلُّ مَا ثَبَتَ**

¹ The reference is to Vol. xxviii of this Journal, as already stated.

“contradiction to [28] بَرهَانٍ فُعُورِضَ بَشَى ۖ فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ شَعْبٌ

anything that has been logically demonstrated is nothing but

شَعْبٌ اَهْلُ السَّفْسِطَةِ” I, 20⁷ شَعْبٌ, i. e., casuistry or sophistry.”

“the casuistry of the Sophists.” 19¹⁹: a certain heretic was con-

vincingly refuted وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا الشَّعْبُ “and nothing was 5
left to him except sophistic arguments.” See also III, 214¹²,

V, 79³, 80¹, 93² (مَشَاغِبُهُمْ). Comp. Dozy sub voce مَشَاغِبُ:

“suppositions captieuses, sophismes” (from Maḳḳārī). The

verb is applied by Ibn Ḥazm in the same sense and construed

with ب rei. Ed. V, 15⁴ مَا نَعْلَمُ لَهُمْ حُجَّةً شَعِبُوا بِهَا فِي هَذَا

“we know of no proof whatever which they could
casuistically bring forward in favor of this nonsense.” III, 203³

وَقَدْ شَغِبَ بَعْضُهُمْ بِأَنَّ هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ قُبِثَتْ لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ بِضَمِّ التَّاءِ

“One of them sophistically assumes that the verse (Koran 17,
104) reads ‘alimtu’ with a ‘ḍamma’ over the ‘tā’.”—In 15

accordance with these quotations the sentence under considera-
tion ought to be translated: “and to expound the *sophisms* that
were brought forward by those of them who argue sophistically”

به would then be the عَائِدُ (Wright,³ *Arabic Grammar* II,
320A) of مَا and the variant بِهَا would be an intentional cor- 20

rection.—فِيهَا غُلِطَ فِيهِ مِنْ فُحْلَتِهِ is somewhat hard, but it can
scarcely be translated otherwise than it has been done in the text.

29, l. 1. Ed. as well as Codd. write, as a rule, الْمَرْجِيَّةُ [29]

(or الْمَرْجِيَّةُ) both with Hamza and Yā. This spelling may have
been chosen intentionally, so as to embrace the two interpreta- 25

tions given to the word, the one deriving it from رَجَأُ “to delay,”

the other from the root رَجَوُ “to inspire hope.” Comp. Shahr.

103, Makr. 349³, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 90, note 1.

—L. 10 f. For the better understanding of this paragraph
I insert here the synopsis of Murji'ite doctrines given in *Milal* 30

L II, 162^b: قَالَتِ الْمَرْجِيَّةُ الْإِيمَانُ هُوَ التَّصَدِيقُ دُونَ الْعَمَلِ

فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ وَعَزَمُوا عَلَيْهِ قَالَ جَهْمُ بْنُ صَفْوَانَ وَالْأَشْعَرِيُّ

[29] **إِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَهُوَ التَّصْدِيقُ بِالْقَلْبِ خَاصَّةً وَإِنْ أَعْلَنَ الْكُفْرَ**
بِلِسَانِهِ فِي دَارِ الْإِسْلَامِ بَلَا نَيْتَهُ¹ وَقَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ كَرَامٍ إِذَا الْأَمْرُ
كَذَلِكَ فَهُوَ التَّصْدِيقُ بِاللِّسَانِ وَإِنْ آمَنَ الْكُفْرَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَتَفَرَّقَ
سَائِرُ الْمَرْجِيَّةِ عَنْ هَذَيْنِ الشَّعْبَيْنِ وَاتَّكَمَهُمَا الْجَهْمِيَّةُ

⁵ **وَالْكَرَامِيَّةُ وَالْأَشْعَرِيَّةُ.** See the detailed account on the Murji'a Ed. IV, 204 ff. On the question as to the nature of "Faith" see III, 188 ff.

— L. 11. Abū Ḥanīfa died 767 C. E. Shahr. 105 admits that this famous Faḳīh is generally counted among the Murji-
¹⁰ 'ites.² He does so reluctantly, as the latter, in spite of their close relation to the Sunna, are considered heterodox, and he explains this, in a rather far-fetched manner, as the result of a misunderstanding. But inconsistently enough, he himself later mentions him among the prominent men of the Murji'a (p. 108).

¹⁵ — L. 15. Jahm was executed for his heterodox beliefs towards the end of the Omeyyad period, Shahr. 19, 60. Makr. 349²³

— Ibidem. On al-Ash'arī's (873–935 C. E.) doctrine see de Boer, 56 f. At first opposed, "he was finally considered so
²⁰ orthodox that anyone who attacked him was regarded as an infidel who deserved capital punishment. The devout philosopher was revered as a saint" (Dozy, *Isl.* 255). It is highly characteristic that Maḳrīzī, who quotes this passage almost verbatim (345¹⁶)³, omits al-Ash'arī's name both here and l. 17.
²⁵ Although himself a Zāhirite like Ibn Ḥazm,⁴ he did not possess his courage or consistency to charge the patron-saint of the Sunna with heterodox views. The same consideration probably accounts for the variant in L and Y (see note 6). The printer of Ed. repeatedly endeavors to defend al-Ash'arī against the
³⁰ attacks of our author. In a footnote to this passage (II, 111)

¹ On the margin **بَلَا قَلْبِهِ صَح**.

² Comp. IKot. 301.

³ Maḳrīzī frequently plagiarizes Ibn Ḥazm; see Goldziher, *Zahiriten* 202: *Muh. St.* II, 269.

⁴ Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 196 f.

he maintains that Ibn Ḥazm misrepresents al-Ash'arī's view, [29] ascribing this circumstance to the geographical distance between these two men (the former in Spain, the latter in Baṣra). In a footnote to III, 206 he asserts that the difference between al-Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm is merely verbal.

— L. 16. Muhammed b. Karrām (died 256^h, Makr. 357²³) is counted Makr. 349⁹ (comp. 357²⁰ ff.) among the Mushabbiha. On his view regarding the external nature of "faith" (our text l. 21 f.) see Ed. III, 188, Bagd. 4^a. Comp. de Boer, 56.

— L. 20. On the principle of "Taḳiyya" see Goldziher's¹⁰ article ZDMG. 60, 213 ff. It is of special significance for the Shi'a, ib. p. 217 ff.

— L. 24 f. See the chapter on the Mu'tazila, Ed. IV, 192 ff.

— L. 25 f. The three Mu'tazilites named here occupy an intermediate position in the question of Ḳadar: It is God who creates the actions of man, but man has the privilege of giving assent to them. Shahr. 62, de Boer 56.

— L. 25. On an-Najjār (9th century C. E.) see Makr. 350³.

— L. 26. Instead of غِيَاث (also Ed. IV, 45¹⁰, Makr. 350¹³) Shahr. 63^d has عَتَاب (Haarbrücker 94^a 'Attáb).—Makr. 350¹⁷ counts him among the Mujabbira, admitting, however, that because of his other views he is generally reckoned among the Mu'tazila. He died 218^h, *Fihr.* 182, n. 7.

30, l. 1. On Ḍirār see Makr. 349³. Comp. Ed. I, 109. [30]

— L. 2. See on this famous Mu'tazilite p. 66¹¹ and passim—His peculiar position in the question of Ḳadar, de Boer, 51.

— L. 5 ff. See Text 74¹⁹ ff. and Comm.

— L. 14. The synopsis of Khārijite views given in *Milal* L II, 162^b will serve to illustrate this passage: قَالَتِ الْخَوَارِجُ

الْمَعَاصِي كُفْرٌ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَتِ الصُّفَرِيَّةُ إِذَا
الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَقَتَلُوهُمْ وَسَبُّ نِسَاءِهِمْ وَاجِبٌ وَالْدَارُ دَارُ كُفْرٍ وَحَرْبٌ
فَجَبْنَتِ الْإِبَاضِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ وَرَجَعُوا عَنْ هَذَا الشَّعْبِ وَاقْتَحَمَهُ سَائِرُ
الْخَوَارِجِ فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ قَالَتِ الْأَزَارِقَةُ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَالْوَاجِبُ
قَتْلُ النِّسَاءِ وَالْأَطْفَالِ لِأَنَّهُمْ كُلُّهُمْ كُفَرَاءُ فَجَبْنَتِ الصُّفَرِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ
وَاقْتَحَمَهُ الْأَزَارِقَةُ. See Ed. IV. 188 ff., Shahr. 100.

[30] — L. 15. The Khârijite named here was an intimate friend of the extreme Shiite Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65¹¹), Masudi V, 343.

— L. 17 f. The names of these three heretics appear in so manifold and puzzling variations that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

The father's name of the *first* occurs in the following forms:

1) حَانِط (or حَايِط) *Milal* V 50^a, L II, 145^b, Masudi III, 267, Shahr. 18, 42, Makr. 347¹⁴, de Sacy XLII footnote, also in the¹⁰ carefully printed manuscripts of Bagd. 49^b, 136^a and Isfr. 8^a, 62^b. We have adopted this reading in our text.—2) حَابِط, very frequently: Ed Y in our passage. Ed. I, 78¹⁵, 90¹⁷, *Milal* L I, 36^a, Iji 340, de Sacy, ibidem.—3) خَابِط L here (so probably also V, see note 8), Ed. IV, 197–198 (several¹⁵ times).—4) حَابِط Ed. III, 120^e.—5) حَافِط Br. here, L II, 162^b l. 1 (حَانِط).

Still more numerous are the variations of the father's name of the *second* person. It is found written as follows¹: 1) مَالُوس Ed. here.—2) يَاقُوس Masudi III, 267.—3) قَابُوس *Milal* V,²⁰ 50^a.—4) سَابُوس Ed. IV, 198¹⁸.—5) نَابُوس Br. here (V بَانُوس).—6) مَانُوس (أحمد بن أيوب بن) Shahr. 43.—7) بَانُوس Y here (L unpointed); Isfr. 63^a مَانُوش (sic).²—8) نَانُوس Ed. I, 90¹⁷.³—9) يَانُوش Bagd. 103^b. We have followed this reading of Bagd., owing to the careful²⁵ punctuation of the manuscript (see Introduction, p. 27).—The ending *وس* = *os* appears in all these readings. This most probably indicates Christian origin, the more so as the views of these men (see later) distinctly show Christian influence.

¹ Note 9 contains several misprints which must be corrected in accordance with the text above.

² “Mânûsch,” as Haarbrücker (II, 419) transcribes the reading of Isfr., is impossible in the manuscript.

³ Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 63, note 1, is inclined to accept this reading, and to identify it with the Greek *Nāvoç* which occurs as the name of several Syrian bishops (Harkavy, *Haḥôkêr* II, 17). But the latter name is transcribed in Arabic as نَانَا (Harkavy, *ibidem*).

The by-name of the *third* as given by Ed. is no doubt incorrect, [30] as according to the express statement Ed. IV, 197²⁰ al-Faḥl was (as well as Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it) from *Basra*. Instead of الحُراني we find: 1) الحارثي Isfr. 64^a l. 3.—2) الحربي Ed. III, 120⁷, IV, 197²⁰; (V here الحربي; Br. L here and L II, 162^b, l. 1 5 الحربي; L II, 146^a (sic) التحري).—3) الحديثي Shahr. 18; 42 الحديثي Iji 340. It is impossible to decide on the proper form.

The doctrines common to these three men consist mainly of the belief in the divinity of Jesus and a fully developed theory¹⁰ of Metempsychosis; see the sources quoted above, especially Ed. I, 90, Shahr. 42 f., Makr. 347. They are usually mentioned together and designated as the pupils of the Mu'tazilite an-Nazzām (p. 58^e), who himself betrays the influence of Christian doctrine, comp. Schreiner, *der Kalām in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 4.—According to Ed. I, 90¹⁷ and Bagd. 103^b, Aḥmad b. Yānūsh (or whatever his name) was a pupil of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it.

— L. 18. On the term "Rawāfiḍ" see Appendix A.

— L. 19. On the Ṣūfis see Text 73². The omission in L. Y. 20 (note 11) is probably intentional. Ibn Ḥazm as Zāhirite has naturally enough a particular aversion to the allegorical interpretation current among the Ṣūfis.

— Ibidem. Abū Ismā'il belonged to the radical wing of the extreme Khārijite sect of the Azāriqa (comp. above p. 9^{3b}),²⁵ Ed. IV, 189. Makr. 349² calls him Ismā'il and counts him among the Mujabbira.

31, l. 1. On the 'Ajārida of the Khawārij see Ed. IV, 191^a, [31] Shahr. 95. On the conception of "Ijmā'" see de Boer 38.

— L. 17. Mukātil is counted Shahr. 108 (comp. ib. p. 106)³⁰ among the Murji'a, but later on, p. 121, among the Zeidiyya.

— L. 20. See the names of these three Shiites in the Index. — On the close relation between the Shi'a and the Mu'tazila see ZDMG. 52, 216; 53, 380, 538; 60, 225, de Boer 43 ult. Comp. Müller, *Islam*, II, p. 9. The Shiites mentioned here all belong³⁵ to the Imāmiyya. Still closer is the relation of the Zeidiyya to the Mu'tazila. Zeid b. Ali (Text 74⁹), the founder of the former sect, was a pupil of Wāṣil b. 'Atā, the founder of the latter

[31] (Shahr. 116), who in turn is said to have received the "science of Kalâm" from Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafīyya, *Zeid. Mutaz.* 10 penult. Typical is the utterance Maḳrīzī's (348^{2b}) "Seldom is a Mu'tazilite found who is not a Râfīḍite, except a few."

⁵ 33, l. 23. "Went to the extreme," lit. "exaggerated" =

[33] **عَلَوُ**, This verb, which in the form of the participle (غالية or غلاة) has become the technical term for the Ultra-Shi'a, originally seems to have had a wider range and to have been applied to other than Shiitic movements. Thus *Ikḍ* (249) has a special chapter on "ḡuluww" in asceticism. Maḳrīzī applies this expression to *all* sects of Islam and states in the case of each sect the nature of its "ḡuluww," i. e., in how far it exaggerates the correct principles of the Sunna.

— L. 24. This view is held by Abū Ismā'īl al-Biṭṭikhī (p. 15 11²³), Ed. IV, 189⁹.

— L. 26. This view is held by the Meimūniyya, a section of the 'Ajārida, Ed. IV, 190¹¹, Shahr. 96, Bagd. 4^b. They slavishly adhered to the restrictions in Koran 4, 27.

— L. 27. This view, too, is attributed to the Meimūniyya,

²⁰ Shahr. 95 f., comp. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Korans*, p. 277 ff.

— L. 28 f. See Koran 24, 2; 5, 42 and comp. Ed. IV, 189⁴.

Milal L II, 25^b l. 2¹: قال ابو محمد، وبعض الخوارج جَسَرَ فقال: 2¹: يُقام الحدودُ عليهم ثم يُستتابون فيُقتلون قال ابو محمد وهذا خلاف للإجماع المتيقن وخلاف للقرآن المجرد.

²⁵ — L. 33. The doctrine of Metempsychosis was current among the Mu'tazilites, Schreiner, *der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff. It was of vital importance for the extreme Shi'a, to whom it served as a metaphysical substructure for many of their beliefs and practices (see Index s.v. "Transmigration of Souls"). Shahr., Makr. and others mention a special sect called Tanâsukhiyya.—See also p. 26¹⁰ ff.

[34] 34, l. 2. This view is attributed to a certain Abū Ḡifār, Ed. IV, 197¹⁷. L II, 145^b is more explicit: وأما غفارُ احد

¹ I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

² L II, 162^b he is called as in Ed. ابو غفار.

[34] شيوخ المعتزلة ورهبانهم فكان يزعم ان تَحْمُ الحَنْزِير ودماعه
وَعُضْرُوفه وَجِلْدُه وَأَبْنَاهَا ^(sic) حلال.

— L. 4. Comp. Ed. IV, 206^o ff.

— L. 7. Ibn Hazm (Ed. IV, 199^{ai}) quotes in the name of Ismâ'il b. 'Abdallâh ar-Ru'ainî, an older contemporary of his, ⁵ who was known for his piety and asceticism, the doctrine "that he who has reached the highest degree of righteousness and purity of soul has attained prophecy and that the latter is by no means a special faculty."

— L. 9. Instead of "pious" better translate "saints."—¹⁰ Comp. Ed. IV, 27^o: "We often heard of Sûfis who maintained that a saint was superior to a prophet;" IV, 226^{1o}, "a part of the Sûfis claim that there are among the Divine Saints (أَوْلِيَاءُ اللَّهِ) some who are superior to all the prophets and apostles, and that he who has reached the utmost limit of saintliness is ¹⁵ exempt from all religious precepts, as prayer, fast, alms, etc. and is allowed all forbidden things, as adultery, wine, and so forth." IBab. *Itikudat* 24^a ascribes the same views to the adherents of Hallâj (Text 69^{1a}):

وعلامة الحلاجية من الغلاة دَعَوَى: ²⁰ التَّكَلَّى بالعبادة مع تَدْيِينِهِمْ بِتَرْكِ الصَّلَاةِ وَجَمِيعِ الْفَرَائِضِ

ودَعَوَى الْمَعْرِفَةَ بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ الْعَظْمِ ² ودَعَوَى أَنْطِبَاعِ الْحَقِّ لَهُمْ
وَأَنَّ الْوَلِيَّ إِذَا خَلَصَ وَعَرَفَ مَذْهَبَهُمْ فَهُوَ عِنْدَهُمْ أَفْضَلُ مِنَ
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَام. Comp. also Ibn al-Athîr's utterance
p. 14¹⁰.—One might think of reading الصَوْفِيَّة instead of أَهْلُ
السَّنَةِ (l. 8). But the author reviews the "exaggerations" of ²⁵
each of the five sects of Islam (Text 28 ult.). The Sunnites
in consequence cannot be missing (cf. p. 12^o ff.).

— L. 12. The belief in Incarnation (hulûl) forms the basis
of the cardinal ultra-Shiitic belief in the Divine nature of the
Imams. Most historians of religion enumerate a special sect ³⁰
called Hulûliyya. See Index sub voce "Incarnation."

¹ The change in gender because milk naturally refers to the female.

² See p. 82¹⁹.

[34] — L. 13. On Ḥallāj see Comm. to p. 69¹⁸. Ibn Ḥazm effectively ridicules this belief in the divinity of Ḥallāj, Ed. V, 117. He repeatedly quotes Ḥallāj as the type of a (pseudo) miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I, 110¹¹ and elsewhere.

5 — L. 16. See p. 78²⁵.

— L. 18. On as-Sayyid, see passages specified in the Index.

— L. 20. See Text 69⁵ and Comm.

— L. 21. See p. 79²².

— L. 22. On Abū Maṣṣār, see p. 89¹⁴.

10 — L. 23. On Bazīg, see p. 95³⁴; on Bayān, p. 88⁴.

— L. 25. See p. 24²⁷ ff.

[35] 35, l. 1 ff. Comp. a similar utterance of Ibn al-Athīr (VIII, 21). These heretics maintain "that all the religious precepts have an inner meaning, and that Allah has imposed upon his 15 saints and those that have perceived the Imāms and the "Gates" (abwāb, ṣūfītic term) neither prayer nor alms nor anything else." Makr. 352¹⁸ quotes in the name of the Khaṭṭābiyya (Text 69) the same specimens of allegorical interpretation, with a few characteristic modifications. Thus "Jibt" and "Ṭāgūt" 20 (l. 7) are interpreted as referring to Abū Sufyān and 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, while Abū Bekr and 'Omar are represented by "khamr" (wine) and "maysir" (a gambling game), Koran 2, 216; 5, 92. This is no doubt an attempt to soften somewhat the insult to "the two Sheikhs" implied in the original interpretation. 25 Interesting, because reflecting the attitude of official Shiism toward these exegetic endeavors, are the two anecdotes told Kashi 188. "Abū 'Abdallah (i. e., Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, see Index) wrote to Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Text 69): 'It has come to my knowledge that thou assumest that "adultery" means a person, that 30 "wine," "prayer," "fasts" and "abominations" (fawāḥish, Koran 6, 152; 7, 31) mean certain persons. It is not as thou sayest.'—Someone said to Ja'far: 'It is reported in thy name that "wine," "maysir," "images," and "arrows" (Koran 5, 92) stand for certain persons.' He replied: Allah would cer- 35 tainly not have told his people something that they could not know (i. e., understand by mere allusion)."

— L. 12. See p. 92¹² ff.

— L. 13 ff. See also Text 49³. I. II. alludes to the same attitude of the Shiites, *Milāl* L II, 82^b (=Ed. IV, 83): Jahm 40 b. Ṣafwān and Abū'l-Hudēil, as well as certain Rawāfiḍ, deny the

eternity of Paradise and Hell (comp. p. 74). He then proceeds to refute Jahm and Abû'l-Hudêil. As for the Râwâfid, they deserve no refutation, as they do not rely on logical demonstration (the last sentence missing in Ed.). In another passage (Ed. II, 94) I. H. elaborately argues against those of his co-religionists who "take it for granted that religion cannot be accepted on the basis of logical demonstration, thus gladdening the hearts of the heretics and testifying that religion can be established by means of assumptions and by superior force." How deeply seated this aversion to argumentation was in Shii-10 tic circles can be seen from the utterances of the famous Imamite Ibn Bâbûye (*ʿItikadat* 6^b), who devotes a whole chapter to this subject. I reproduce this interesting chapter in its essential parts:

باب الاعتقاد في التناهي عن الجدال والمراء في الله تعالى¹⁵
 وفي دينه قال الشيخ ابو جعفر¹ رحمه الله تعالى اعتقادنا في ذلك ان الجدال في الله تعالى منهي عنه لأنه يؤدي الى ما لا يليق به وسئل الصادق عليه السلام عن قول الله تعالى وَأَنَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ أَلْمَنَتَهُ² قال عليه السلام اذا انتهى الكلام الى الله تعالى فأمسكوا³ وكان الصادق عليه السلام يقول يا آبن آدم لو أكل قلبك طائر لم يشبعه وبصرك لو وضع عليه خرقة إبرة لغطاه تريد ان تعرف بها ملكوت السماوات والارض إن كنت صادقاً فهذه الشمس خلق من خلق الله فإن قدرت فأملأ عينيك منها فهو كما تقول والجدال في جميع أمور الدين منهي عنه وقال امير المؤمنين⁴ عليه السلام من طلب الدين

¹ This is the Kunya of Ibn Bâbûye.

² Koran 53, 43.

³ Shahr. 143 mentions in the name of al-Warrâk (author of the *Fihrist*?) that this reply of Ja'far was transmitted by Hishâm b. Sâlim (see Index) and Muhammed b. an-Nu'mân (p. 59), who strictly followed this injunction till they died.

⁴ i. e., Ali.

بِالْجَدَلِ تَزْنِدُق [7^a] وَرَوَى أَنَّ أَبَا الْهَذَيْلِ الْعَلَّافَ قَالَ [35]
 لَهُشَامُ بْنُ الْحَكَمِ¹ أَنَاظِرُكَ عَلَى أَتِّكَ إِنَّ غَلِبَتْنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى
 مَذْهَبِكَ وَإِنْ غَلِبْتُكَ رَجَعْتَ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي فَقَالَ هُشَامُ مَا أَنْصَفْتَنِي
 بَلْ أَنَاظِرُكَ عَلَى أَنِّي إِنَّ غَلِبْتُكَ رَجَعْتَ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي وَإِنْ غَلِبَتْنِي
 رَجَعْتُ إِلَى إِمَامِي.

5

This elimination of logic from the province of religion is complemented and justified by the claim of a higher source of knowledge, the claim of inspiration (l. 14). See on this p. 54¹⁶.

— L. 22. The Ultra-Shiites are excluded from Islam by all
 10 orthodox theologians, comp. Introduction, p. 23, l. 1–2. I. H. sees in this agreement of the orthodox the force of an “ijmā’.”

— L. 24 ff. The following significant passage was first communicated by Kremer (*Ideen*, p. 10) from the Vienna manuscript. Makr. 362⁴ ff. reproduces our passage without giving
 15 credit to its author (comp. p. 8, n. 3). Ibn Ḥazm’s view on the origin of Shiitic heterodoxy is founded on the observation of the rôle played by the Persian element in the Shiitic movement, a view fully shared and frequently over-emphasized by modern scholars (see Introduction, p. 3, note 1). This view, which conveniently
 20 enough regards the introduction of “*ḡuluww*” (see p. 12⁵) into Islam as a treacherous act of revenge² on the part of the subjugated nationalities, is voiced also by other Muhammedan writers, comp., e. g., the utterance of Ibn al-Athir VIII, 21 (p. 14¹⁰) and Iji 349. I. H. gives repeated expression to this conviction
 25 in his *Milal*, comparing the treachery of the Persians with the deceitful attitude of the Jews towards Christianity, the latter having bribed the apostle Paul to smuggle the doctrine of “*ḡuluww*” into the new faith.³ Thus in the chapter dealing with Christianity (Ed. II, 38) I. H. endeavors to prove that the
 30 Apostles were infidels. “Either they sincerely and firmly believed in the divinity of Christ and “exaggerated” on his

¹ Comp. Text 53¹ and Comm.

² The expression كَيْدُ الْإِسْلَام is repeatedly found in this connection, comp. Ed. IV, 227^{5, 11} and elsewhere.

³ It is worthy of notice that I. H. repeatedly quotes the latter view as being held by the Jews of his time.

behalf, in the same way as did the Sabâ'iyya¹ and the other sects [35] of the Ġāliya as regards Ali, or as the Khaṭṭābiyya believed in the divinity of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Text 69⁴), the adherents of al-Ḥallāj (Text 69^{1b}) in the divinity of al-Ḥallāj and the other infidels among the Bāṭiniyya . . . , or they were seduced by the Jews, ⁵ as the latter claim, to corrupt the followers of Christ and lead them into error, in the same way as 'Abdallah b. Sabâ the Ḥimyarite, al-Mukhtār b. Abi 'Obeid, Abū 'Abdallah al-'Ajāni, Abū Zakarīya al-Khayyāṭ, Ali an-Najjār, Ali b. al-Faḍl al-Janadī² and the other emissaries of the Karmatians and Shiites³ ¹⁰ rose to lead into error the partisans (Shi'a) of Ali."

Next to the Persians, the largest share in the importation of heterodox doctrines into Islam is attributed to the Jews, mainly on the ground that 'Abdallah b. Sabâ (p. 18³⁶ ff.), the founder of the first Shiitic sect, is said to have been a Jew. Thus I. H., ¹⁵ in referring to the claim of the Jews regarding the apostle Paul,⁴ thoughtfully adds (I, 222): "This is something which we do not consider improbable on their part. For they tried the same thing towards ourselves and our religion, although this time they failed to carry out their cunning. I refer to 'Abdallah b. ²⁰ Sabâ known as Ibn as-Saudâ,⁵ the Jew, the Ḥimyarite—may Allah curse him!—who embraced Islam in order to lead into error as many Muslims as possible. He assumed the leadership of an ignoble party, who stood on the side of Ali, so that they might profess the divinity of Ali, in the same way as Paul ²⁵ became the leader⁶ of the followers of Christ that they might believe his divinity. These are now the Bāṭiniyya and Ġāliya,

¹ Cód. L. (I, 105^a) and V. (160^a) read Sabâbiyya, see p. 41¹⁷.

² See on most of these men the Index.

³ *المشاركة*, "proprement les Orientaux, était en Afrique le nom par lequel on désignait les Chites" (Dozy s. v.).

⁴ How widespread this belief was can be seen from the elaborate story, given by Isfr. (71^a) and designated by him as generally known, how Paul at the instance of the Jews became a Christian, studied in the Christian monasteries and, having gained their confidence, smuggled into Christianity the belief in the Trinity, etc.

⁵ Ed. I, 222³ *السوء*. The correct reading in Codd. See p. 18³⁶.

⁶ Ed. 222⁵ *ونهج*. L. V. correctly *نهج كالدی نهج*.

[35] and the least heretical among these are the Imāmiyya." See more on the relation of Judaism to Shiism, p. 19¹⁰ ff.

✓

— L. 29. I owe the explanation of these two terms to a private communication of Professor Nöldeke: "Ibn Ḥazm's state-

ment with reference to الأبناء and الأحرار is not quite exact.

الأبناء are not the Persians as a whole, but those descendants of the Persians (mostly or wholly arabicized) who conquered Yemen at the time of the great Chosroes. In Yemen the 'Abnâ' were prominent as a class during the time of Muhammed and his immediate successors. The same name was afterwards (third century H.) applied in 'Irāk to the descendants of the Khorasanian warriors who won the empire for the Abbasids.—

الأحرار ('the free ones') properly designates the Persian nobles, (the ἐλεύθεροι of the Parthians). About 600 C. E. the poets apply this name to the Persians in general, and later writers use the same appellation merely on the basis of a scholarly tradition."

See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, p. 225, n. 5 and 342, n. 7.

[36] 36, l. 9. On Sunbād (or Sinbād) see Blochet, l. 44 f.

— Ibidem (note 2). "The form of the name is still very uncertain. I hardly believe that Ustādsīs is correct. اسادسس may represent many different forms of an Iranian name" (Nöldeke).

— Ibidem. On al-Mukanna' see Comm. to p. 70⁹.

— Ibidem. On Bābak comp. Fih. 343 f. and notes. He was crucified in Surra-man-ra'ā in the year 223^b, Bagd. 107^b.

— L. 11. On Khidāsh see p. 98¹⁹. On Abū Muslim, see Index.

— L. 20-21. Comp. Introduction, p. 22¹² f. and Text, p. 79²⁰.

[37] 37, l. 2 f. *Fifty* prayers are mentioned in connection with the Karmatians and the Nuṣeiriyyā, de Sacy CLIV ult. and footnote, CLXX. This is apparently based on the Muhammedan legend according to which Allah had originally prescribed fifty prayers, but, yielding to Muhammed's presentations, reduced them to five; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* I, 36.—On 'Abdallah (l. 5) see Comm. to p. 71¹.

— L. 7. On 'Abdallah b. Sabā, also known as Ibn as-Saudā, see Ibn Ḥazm's utterances pp. 16³⁰, 17¹⁷ and passages in Index. The identity of Ibn as-Sabā and Ibn as-Saudā is assumed by all

Muhammedan scholars, except Bagd. and Isfr. Tabarî's account [37] (I 2941; comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 91) differs in several essential points from the reports of the theological writers. Altogether the data on this enigmatic personality are as interesting as they are conflicting; they deserve to be made the subject of special investigation. He is generally considered the founder of Shiism, and this, in connection with his Jewish origin, sufficiently explains the endeavors of the Muhammedan theologians to charge him with many a heresy which developed in the later course of Shiism. His Jewish birth was a sufficient pretext for the Sunnites to bring Shiism in connection with Judaism. We saw Ibn Hazm's remarks p. 16 f. Kashi, in the biography of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, p. 70, plainly says: "On account of this the opponents of the Shi'a maintain that the root of Shiism and

Râfidism (التشييع والرّفص, see Appendix on Rawâfid) was taken over from Judaism." The famous theologian ash-Sha'bi (died 103) is reported to have drawn an elaborate and odious parallel between the Shiites and the Jews (*Ikhl* 269). He says among other things, with special reference to Ibn Sabâ: "The Râfida are the Jews of this nation. They hate Islam as the Jews hate Christianity. They embraced Islam, not because they longed for it or because they feared Allah, but because they detested the Muslims and intended to overpower them."

On 'Abdallah's alleged participation in the uprising of 'Othmân see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* VI, 124 f.—On 25 l. 11 see p. 100.

— L. 12. On the Ismaelites see Shahr. 137, 145 f., Iji 349, IKhald. I, 362, Dozy, *Isl.* 259 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 196 f., Müller, *Islam* I, 588 f., Blochet 54 ff.—On the various appellations of the Ismâ'iliyya see Shahr. 147 ff. and Blochet 50, n. 1. See also Text 73, note 1 and Comm.

— L. 13. On the Karmatians see Dozy, *Isl.* 268 ff., Blochet 61 ff., de Boer 82 f.—A succinct presentation of their doctrine, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 166 f.

— L. 15. On Mazdak see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 455 ff.—Similarly I. II. expresses himself Ed. I, 34¹⁷: "As for the Mazdakiyya (written with م), they are the adherents of Mazdak the Mōbad. They are those who believe in communism as to property and women. The Khur-

[37] ramiyya, the adherents of Bâbak, are one of the sects of the Mazdakiyya. They are also the secret (basis)¹ of the doctrine of the Ismâ'îliyya and their (vital) element, as well as of those who hold to the doctrine of the Karmatians and the Banû 5 'Obeid (=Fatimides)."

[38] 38, l. 7 ff. The following sentences give emphatic expression to the Zâhirite conviction of the author; comp. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 202.

— L. 15. The author has apparently in view the belief held 10 in Shiitic, as well as in certain Sunnitic quarters, that the Prophet bequeathed to 'Âisha, Fâtima, 'Abbâs or 'Alî, respectively, some mystic lore; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 118.

— L. 18. Comp. Ed. V, 26 penult.: "It is firmly established regarding the prophet . . . that he was sent to the red and the black."

15 Comp. *Kâmil*, ed. Wright, 264⁷ **وَقَوْلُ الْعَرَبِ مَا يَخْفَى ذَلِكَ عَلَى الْأَسْوَدِ وَالْأَحْمَرِ يَرِيدُ الْعَرَبِيَّ وَالْعَجَمِيَّ.**

— L. 23. "As he was commanded," see Koran 5, 71.—I. H. uses the same argument *Milal* L II, 89^b (not found in Ed.)

فَإِنْ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَتَمَ عَنْ سَائِرِ النَّاسِ مَا عَلَّمَهُ عَلَى بَنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ كَمَا أُمِرَ قَالَ تَعَالَى² لِيَتَّبِعَنَّ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ²⁰ إِلَيْهِمْ فَمَنْ قَالَ أَنَّهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَبَيِّنْ لِلنَّاسِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَيْهِ بَلْ كَتَمَهُمْ إِيَّاهُ وَخَصَّ بِهِ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ سِرًّا فَقَدْ كَفَرَ إِذْ وَصَفَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِأَنْ عَصَى أَمْرَ رَبِّهِ تَعَالَى لَهُ بِالْبَيَانِ لِلنَّاسِ جِهَارًا فَبَطُلَ مَا آدَعُوهُ يَقِينًا مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

[39] 39, l. 11. In accordance with his Zâhirite conviction, which strictly and exclusively adheres to the bare text of the Koran and the Hadîth, I. H. lays special emphasis on the reliability

¹ Ed. **سِرٍّ**. L. and V. **شَرٍّ** "the worst."

² Koran 16, 46.

of the traditionists; comp. Ed. II, 76²⁰ ff. and Kremer, *Ideen* [39] 138 ff.

40, l. 11. "The Mu'tazilites, the Khârijites, the Murji'ites [40] and the Shiites." The same enumeration of Muhammedan sects (comp. Introduction, p. 21) Ed. IV, 2¹⁵: جميع اهل الاسلام 5
من اهل السنة والمعتزلة والنجارية (والمرجئية) والخوارج
والشيعية.

— L. 15 (note 6). The words ما لا بَقِيَّةَ لَهُمْ بَعْدَهَا I interpret in the sense that nothing remains to these infidels to boast of, beyond (=except) the infamies and lies to be found in their 10
Scriptures. The reading of L. and Br. ما لا يَبَيِّنُ بَعْدَهَا (without لَهُمْ) I would translate: "beyond which (sc. الفُضَائِحُ) no proof (is needed)," i. e., the infamies in themselves are sufficient to impeach the infidels. On this meaning of بَعْدُ see the glossary to Tabarî, sub voce. 15

41, l. 15. Characteristic of I. H.'s truthfulness (see Intro- [41] duction, p. 15) is another utterance of his, Ed. IV, 108¹⁶: "If we thought that dishonest quoting was permissible, we should use as an argument (against the Shiites) the words reported (in the name of the Prophet): 'Follow the example of those 20 after me, viz., Abû Bekr and 'Omar.' But this (tradition) is not true, and may Allah guard us from using as an argument anything that is not true."

— L. 17 (note 7). Comp. Text 42, l. 5 and note 8. I. H. uses a very similar phraseology Ed. IV, 207¹⁹: "We have here 25 set forth the depravities of the adherents of heresy (he refers to the Murji'ites) in order to cause people to flee from them and to frighten away the illiterate among the Muslims from becoming familiar with them and from thinking well of their corrupt words."

42, l. 1 f. The heresies referred to are those of the Mu'tazi- [42] lites. They are quoted as such Ed. IV, 192 (in the chapter on the Mu'tazila).—I. H. chooses them as specimens in his introduction because, in the original disposition of the pamphlet against the four heterodox sects, which is now incorporated 35 with his *Milal*, the Mu'tazila occupied the first place. See my

[42] essay "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihāl*" in *Orientalische Studien* I, p. 274 f.

— L. 17. See Introduction, p. 22–23.

— L. 18. On "Rawāfīd" see Appendix A.

⁵ 43, l. 1. The founder of the Jārūdiyya is called with his full
[43] name Abū'l-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundir al-'Abdī, Masudi V, 474,
Kashi 150, Tusy, p. 146 No. 308, Shahr. 121; Fihr. 178¹² and
Makr. 352²⁴ assign to him the additional Kunya Abū 'n-Najm.
Muhammed al-Bākīr (died 117) called him "Surḥūb," which is
¹⁰ said to designate "a blind devil dwelling in the sea" (Kashi,
Shahr. 119), because he was born blind (Fihr., Kashi, Tusy).
The sect was accordingly called also the Surḥūbiyya (Kashi).

As regards their tenets, the Jārūdiyya variously differ from the
bulk of the Zeidiyya, whom they regard as infidels. They share
¹⁵ with the latter the central doctrine that Muhammed appointed
Ali as his successor, not, as the Imāmiyya maintain, by means
of a written will which the Companions maliciously set aside,
but "by a description (of his qualities) without the mention of

his name" (Shahr.: *بالوصف دون التسمية*). But they differ
²⁰ from them in that they regard the Companions as infidels
because they did not endeavor to find out the man to whom the
Prophet referred and chose a wrong one in his place. Accord-
ing to Shahr. 118, Abū'l-Jārūd went so far as even to deny the
Imamate of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya, on the
²⁵ ground that the latter considered Abū Bekr and 'Omar legi-
timate rulers. Isfr., however, (9^a ult.) insists that the recogni-
tion of Zeid as Imam is common to all Zeiditic sects without
exception. It is strange that I. II. should omit the mention of
this typical heterodoxy of the Jārūdiyya: the "Takfīr as-
³⁰ Ṣaḥāba."

As to the succession in the Imamate, the Jārūdiyya agree
with the rest of the Zeidiyya that it is legitimate in the descend-
ants both of Ḥasan and Ḥusein, and in these exclusively, on
condition that they are qualified for the Imamate and present
³⁵ their claims with the sword in their hands. Of the three
Imams quoted in our passage one is a Ḥasanide, the other two
Ḥuseinides.

On the Jārūdiyya compare also the account of Bagd. 9^b.

— L. 2 (note 1). “al-Husein” is also found Shahr. 118, [43] Iji 352, Bagd. 17^b (also elsewhere) and Isfr. 12^a. It is known how frequently these two names are confounded.—Muhammed died at the hands of ‘Īsa b. Mûsa, the governor of Kufa (died 167), in 145, IKot. 192, Tab. III, 189 ff. 5

— Note 7. On Raḍwa see p. 36³. Bagd. 17^b calls the locality *حاجر* (with soft *ح* under the line) *جبل من ناحية نجد*. See further Text 60¹⁰ and Comm.

— L. 7–8. The belief that the Imams have not died and will reappear on earth is the central tenet of the Ultra-Shi‘a, and 10 occurs, as can be seen in this treatise, in connection with nearly every one of their sects. This belief is founded on two doctrines which must have gained wide currency in heterodox Islam at a very early period: the one is the Raj‘a doctrine, the other is a doctrine derived from heterodox Christian Docetism. It is 15 necessary to gain a clear view of these two doctrines in order to grasp in its full meaning the conception which practically lies at the bottom of all Shiitic movements.

The doctrine designated as *Raj‘a*¹ has apparently had its history and presents in consequence a complex appearance. 20 Kremer (*Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen* II, 397), in speaking of this doctrine “which was widely current among the Shiites of the earliest period,” gives the following definition of this belief: “For a man to believe in the ‘Return’ (Raj‘a) amounted to the conviction that Ali would rise from the dead, 25 and that he himself would, after a certain period of time (as a rule, after forty days), come to life again.” According to the national dictionaries, Raj‘a signifies “the returning to the present state of existence after death, before the Day of Resurrection.” (See Lane, sub voce, and the authorities quoted 30 there.) It would thus appear that this belief in returning to life after death, which was known to the Arabs as early as in the time of Ignorance (Lane, *ib.*) applied to people in general, without reference to specific personalities. Jābir b. Yazid al-Ju‘fi (died 128, see p. 86¹¹) believed in the Raj‘a, Muslim, 35 *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1283) I, 51. This is more explicitly stated by

¹ The pronunciation *Rija* is recorded, although not approved of, by Nawawī on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1283) I, 51.

- [43] Bagd. 18^a وكان جابر بن يزيد الجعفي على هذا المذهب وكان يقول برجة الأموات الى الدنيا قبل القيامة. The poet al-Bash-shâr b. Burd (died 167) held the same belief, *Agh.* III, 24^o, and this is again explained by Bagd. 17^a أحدهما قوله يرجع (يرجع) برجة الاموات الى الدنيا قبل يوم القيامة⁵ ; كما ذهب اليه اصحاب الرجعة من الرافضة كان يقول بالرجعة قبل القيامة كما كان يقولها الرجعية من الروافض. Kuthayyir (died 105) expressed on his death-bed the conviction that he would return to life after forty days on a fine horse (*Agh.* VIII, 33).¹

It seems, however, that this belief was, or became, mainly connected with certain prominent individuals who, by reason of their prominence, deserved a return to life. We find this belief repeatedly in connection with Muhammed. When Muhammed¹⁵ had died, 'Omar violently rebuked those who believed that the Prophet was dead, and he gave emphatic expression to his belief that he would "return" after forty days, "just as Moses had done," Tab. I, 1815 f., IBab., *Ithbat* 31, Bagd. 5^a (here Muhammed is compared with Jesus). 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, the founder²⁰ of Shiism (p. 18 f.), is said to have believed in the "Return" of Muhammed. Referring to Koran 28, 85,² he argued: "It is strange that people who assert that Jesus will return should deny that Muhammed will return, . . . Muhammed being worthier of returning than Jesus." "And he laid down for²⁵ them the Raj'a." Tab. I, 2941.

As a rule, the Raj'a belief is found in connection with the Imâms of the Shi'a, in the first place, of course, with *Ali*. The

¹ This form of Raj'a is probably the real basis of the belief current among the Khattâbiyya that they will never die (p. 72²⁹).—An allusion to this belief is perhaps found *Agh.* XI, 75^o: A friend of 'Abdallah b.

Mu'âwiya (p. 44¹¹) was called al-Baqlî (p. 46⁷) لأنه كان يقول الانسان كالبقلة فاذا مات لم يرجع.

² Hallâj composed a book bearing on this verse under the title كتاب في ان الذي انزل عليك القرآن لراؤك الى معاد (*Fih.* 192¹³).

idea that Ali was hidden in the clouds, whence he would return [43] on earth, was very common in Shiitic circles (see p. 42¹⁵). The term Raj'a κατ' ἐξοχήν very frequently designates this belief; comp. *Lisân* and *Tâj al-'Arûs*, sub voce, Nawawî on Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ* I, 51, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte* ib. Makr. 354¹¹: الرَّجْعِيَّةُ 5 القائلون سِيرَجَع عَلَى بَنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَيَنْتَقِمُ مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِ. The Muhammedan writers, with extremely few exceptions, ascribe the authorship of this belief to 'Abdallah b. Sabâ.¹ Apart from the ordinary sources, see also the interesting notice IKhall. No. 645 (p. 26³): al-Kalbî (died 146) "was one of the followers 10 of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, who maintained that Ali had not died and would return on earth." To the references given in the course of this treatise (see p. 42 f.) may also be added Madâ'ini (died about 225/840), who reports that al-Ḥasan, the son of Ali, protested against the belief that God would bring Ali to life on 15 earth before the day of Resurrection (ZDMG. 38, 391). How deeply rooted this belief was in the masses may be seen from the curious anecdote narrated by 'Abdallah b. 'Abbâs (*Ikd* 269). A man called on him at a very unusual hour and asked him: "When will this man be brought to life?"—"Which 20 man?"—"Ali b. Abî Ṭâlib." I said: "He will not be brought to life, until God brings to life those that are in the graves." He said: "You speak like one of these fools." I said: "Take him away from me, may Allah curse him!"

Next to Ali the Raj'a occurs in connection with his son 25 Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya. It was the belief of the Keisâniyya, and its famous champions were the poets Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî, *Agh.* VII, 24¹⁶, VIII 32¹, 33, 34, XI, 46⁸; see also *Furât al-Wafayât* I, 24.² *Ikd* 268 designates

¹ On Ṭabarî's account see above. Makr. 356 ult., with characteristic eclecticism, combines both views. 'Abdallah b. Sabâ believed بَرَجْعَةٌ

عَلَى بَعْدِ مَوْتِهِ إِلَى الدُّنْيَا وَبَرَجْعَةٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَيْضًا.

² They believed at the same time in their own Raj'a, pp. 24⁸ and 26¹².—Kuthayyir, who returns from a tour in the region between Mekka and Medina, reports that he has found everything absolutely unchanged وهذا يكون حتى نرجع اليه وكان يؤمن بالرجعة. "This will remain so till we return to it (after death)." Perhaps it would be more reasonable to read يرجع and to translate "till he (Muh. b. al-Ḥanafiyya) returns to it."

[43] the belief in the "Return" of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as the belief of the Rawāfiḍ in general.

In the later development of the Shi'a we find the Raj'a belief in connection with nearly every Shiitic Imam. Numerous instances can be gleaned from Ibn Ḥazm's and Shahrastānī's accounts on Shiism. It was the salient feature in the controversies of the Shi'a and the belief which characterized the Wākifiyya in distinction from the Kīṭṭī'iyya (p. 50).

It now remains for us to state the relation of the Raj'a doctrine to the belief in the Transmigration of Souls (Tanāsukh al-Arwāḥ). This relation is perhaps best illustrated by the amusing anecdote (told of as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, who believed in Raj'a as well as in Tanāsukh, l. 26 f. and p. 28²⁰). A man asked as-Sayyid for a loan of a hundred dinārs, promising to repay them when he (the debtor) should return to life. As-Sayyid answered: "Yes, and even more than that, if you will give me a guarantee that you will return as a man." He said: "How else can I return?" as-Sayyid said: "I am afraid that you will return as a dog or as a pig, and my money will be lost." (Agh. VII, 8. See the same anecdote with a few variations *Furāt al-Wafayāt* I, 25). The former possibility is Raj'a, the latter Tanāsukh; in other words, Raj'a signifies the return as the same person, Tanāsukh the return as a different being. The two conceptions, though related to one another and, in consequence, often found side by side, are by no means identical and are distinctly kept asunder. Kuthayyir, as well as as-Sayyid, believed not only in Raj'a but also in Tanāsukh (Agh. VIII, 27²¹; he claims to be the Prophet Jona, ib. 34). But it is expressly stated that he believed "in Raj'a and Tanāsukh" (Agh. VIII, 27²²). In the same way both expressions are found side by side Shahr. 125²³, 132²⁴. Makr. (354²⁵), who enumerates a sect of Raj'iyya (see above), mentions in the same passage التناشئة القائلون أنّ الأرواح تتناسخ. Ibn Bābūye, who staunchly defends Raj'a,¹ violently rejects Tanāsukh (see p. 75¹). Only in

¹ In a special chapter on Raj'a, I'tikadat 12^b: اعتقادنا في الرجعة انها حق. He promises to write a special book on the subject which may be identical with his Ithbāt al-ḡaiba. Mirza 46^b makes the Imamites respon-

a few isolated instances do the two terms seem to be used as syno- [43]

nyms. Thus IKhald. (II, 164) says **وآخرون يدعون رجعة مَنْ مات من الائمة بنوع التناسخ او الحقيقة** "in a kind of Transmigration or in reality," i. e., returning in spirit as a different being, or as the same person. The same close contact between the two conceptions is apparently assumed, *ib.* II, 169.¹ Makr. 357⁴ contradicts his own previous statements when he says: "From him (i. e., 'Abdallah b. Sabā) they also took over the belief in the concealment² of the Imam and the belief in his return after death on earth, in the same way as the Imāmiyya³ till this day believe it of "the man of the cellar,"³ and this is the belief in *Tanāsukh al-Arwāh*." Apart from these instances, which are otherwise not very striking, the two ideas are clearly separated from one another.⁴

ومن هفواتهم الحنثة القول : **بالرجعة قال أجل سابقهم وسند لأحقهم محمد بن بابويه القمي في عقائده في بحث الإيمان ويجب الإيمان بالرجعة فإنهم قالوا مَنْ لم يؤمن برجعتنا فليس منا واليه ذهب جميع علمائهم .**

¹ The Prophet says to Ali : "Thou art its (this nation's) Du'l-Karnein (Alexander the Great)." See de Slane's translation, II, 196, note 4, and Comm. p. 28, note 1 towards the end.

² I read **بغيبة** instead of **بفيئة**.

³ The twelfth Imam, the Mahdi.

⁴ We have dwelt on this point at some length because Wellhausen, *Opp.* 93, denies the explanation set forth above, and insists that Raj'a is originally identical with Tanāsukh, and that the meaning usually attached to it is a later development. His contention, however, practically rests on a single passage (Agh. VIII, 34) which, even if taken in Wellhausen's interpretation, cannot stand against the numerous passages to the contrary. But the passage in question does not necessarily prove Wellhausen's assertion. We are told that Kuthayyir used to give money to the little sons of Hasan b. Hasan (b. Ali; not, as Wellhausen erroneously has it, "Hasan and Husein") and to call them "little prophets" : **وكان يؤمن بالرجعة** (similarly on the same page before). Wellhausen assumes that these words are meant to explain Kuthayyir's

- [43] It can be seen from the preceding expositions that Raj'a as such leaves the question open whether the Imam had really died, or whether he had merely disappeared and abides in concealment pending his reappearance. On the strength of the instances⁵ quoted above one is inclined to assume that the former belief is the original one, while the latter is the later but the more popular one. It is in this form—as a correlative of “ḡaiba” (“concealment” of the Imam)—that Raj'a became a predominant factor in Shiism and still is the official belief of the Shiites of today.¹

action, which can only have been the outcome of his belief in the Transmigration of Souls, and that consequently the two beliefs are identical. That Kuthayyir was an adept of Metempsychosis is repeatedly stated in Agh. (see in the text above). But the construction put on the explanatory words is not irrefutable. On the same page a similar action of Kuthayyir (he hugs Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far (see p. 45), who was a schoolboy at the time, and calls him a little prophet) is recorded without the explanation appended here. The words **وكان**

يؤمن بالرجعة may signify here as little as in the statement regarding

as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 24¹⁸) **يشرب الخمر ويؤمن بالرجعة**. In both cases the explanatory remark may simply mean to imply that the man in question was an abominable heretic, the belief in Raj'a being regarded as a sign of extreme heterodoxy (comp. Agh. III, 24⁹). At any rate, the weight of the passage referred to by Wellhausen is largely counterbalanced by the statement, Agh VIII, 27, that Kuthayyir believed in “Raj'a and Tanāsukh,” where the two ideas appear as distinctly different.

¹ By way of appendix a few isolated usages of the term Raj'a may find place here. Extremely interesting, but somewhat obscure, is the passage Agh. III, 188. Omayya b. Abi Ṣalt, who is anxious to become a prophet, goes to Syria and repeatedly enters a church, while his companions have to wait outside. A monk who lives in that church had told him that there were to be six *Raj'āt* (see the remark on the margin of Agh.) after Jesus, of which five had already come to pass. When he comes another time, he is told by the monk: “The Raj'a has already come and a prophet has been sent from among the Arabs.” Thereupon he gives up his prophetic ambitions.—A very peculiar interpretation of the Raj'a belief is found Mirza 46^b, but, in view of the polemical tendency of his treatise, this interpretation may only reflect his own indi-

vidual conception of the Shiitic doctrine. He says: **ومرادهم من**

الرجعة ان النبي وعليًا والأئمة من ولده يُحيون في آخر الزمان

This conception, which regards the death of the Imams as a [43] mere disappearance, indispensably needs a complement which should account for the fact of their apparent death, the more so as the Imams of the Shi'a, with scarcely any exception, all died an unnatural death. This complement is supplied by a heterodox Christian doctrine borrowed from *Docetism*.¹ It cannot be our task here to trace the influence of Docetism on Islam. But it seems highly probable that this doctrine came to the Muslims through the medium of Manichaeism, which adopted this belief and gave it a definite shape. "The Jesus of the Manichaeans then had no objective reality as man. His whole human appearance, birth and baptism were a mere apparition, and so were his sufferings. For it was not he who was really crucified, but it was an emissary of the devil who tried to frustrate the instructive activity of Jesus, and who, as a punishment for his wickedness, was fastened to the cross by Jesus himself" (Kessler, Article "Manichäer," PRE³, XII, 218. Comp. Flügel, *Mani*, 124, 336 f.).

بعد خروج المهدي وقَتْل الدَّجَالِ وَيُجَبَى كُلُّ مِنَ الْخُلَفَاءِ
الراشدين [47^a] وَقَتْلَةُ الْأَثَمَةِ بِالْإِجْمَالِ وَيُقْتَلُونَ هَوْلًا حَدًّا
وَقِصَاصًا ثُمَّ يَمُوتُونَ وَيُحْيَوْنَ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى وَقَدْ بَالِغَ مُرْتَضَاهُمْ فِي
الْمَسَائِلِ النَّاصِرِيَّةِ فِي هَذِهِ الْأَكَاذِيبِ الْكُفْرِيَّاتِ فَقَالَ وَيَصْلُبُونَ
السَّجْرَةَ.—The word is used by Ibn Ḥazm (Ed. I, 139^a)
to indicate the return (of a nation) to its former state of power and
prosperity: وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ كُلَّ أُمَّةٍ أَدْبَرَتْ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَنْتَظِرُونَ مِنَ الْعُودَةِ

وَيَمُوتُونَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ مِنَ الرَّجْعَةِ. But the word can scarcely be said to have the meaning of a technical term.—Fictitious is the meaning ascribed to the word by de Slane (*Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun* II, 196 note 5): a new period of time during which every past event will return, or repeat itself. The passage referred to proves nothing of the kind.

It merely says رَجُوعُ الْأُمُورِ إِلَى مَا كَانَتْ which has nothing to do with the term *Raj'a*. In Ibn Khaldūn's text (II, 169) the meaning of the word is probably close to that of Transmigration of Souls. see p. 27^a.

¹ On Docetism see Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.) I, 164, and the passages specified there in the index.

[43] This docetic belief, which afforded a satisfactory explanation of the alleged death of the Shiitic Imams, was readily adopted by the radical Shiites, and it often occurs in the very same form which Manichaeism had given it: that not the Imam was really

⁵ killed, but a devil who assumed his shape (شَيْطَانٌ تَصَوَّرَ بِصُورَتِهِ).

We find this belief in connection with nearly every Imam of the Ultra-Shiites. On its application to Ali, which is undoubtedly historical, see p. 43 f. Bagd. and Isfr. mention this theory in connection with the following Imams: Ali (in the name of ¹⁰ 'Abdallah b. Sabâ) Bagd. 94^a, Isfr. 55^b f.; Abû Muslim (see Index), Bagd. 100^a, Isfr. 59^a; Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (p. 87), Bagd. 18^a f., 97^a; Ḥallāj (Text 69¹⁸), who is said to have stamped his features on someone else, Bagd. 102^a, Isfr. 61^b. The Imamites who believe in the "return" of the ¹⁵ twelfth Imam, the only one who was not murdered (at least according to the Imamitic belief), and therefore insist that the preceding Imams are really dead, have no room for this belief. But it can be seen from the polemics of Ibn Bâbüye that this docetic belief was widespread in Shiitic circles. After having ²⁰ described the manner of (violent) death of the eleven Imams—a favorite topic in Imamitic works—IBab. thus sums up his position (*Itikadat* 23^b, in the chapter التَّقْوِيضُ وَالْغَلَوُ):

واعْتِقَادُنَا فِي ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ جَرَى عَلَيْهِمْ عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ وَأَنَّهُ مَا اشْتَبَهَ
لِلنَّاسِ أَمْرُهُمْ كَمَا يَزْعُمُهُ مَا (مَنْ) يَتَجَاوَزُ الْحَدَّ فِيهِمْ بَلْ
شَاهَدُوا قَتْلَهُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ وَالصَّحَّةِ لَا عَلَى الْحِسَابِ وَالْحَيْلُولَةِ ²⁵
وَلَا عَلَى الشَّكِّ وَالشُّبْهَةِ فَمَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّهُمْ شَبَّهُوا أَوْ وَاحِدٌ مِنْهُمْ
فَلَيْسَ مِنْ دِينِنَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَنَحْنُ مِنْهُ بِرَأَى.

This docetic belief, in conjunction with the Raj'a doctrine, enabled the Ultra-Shiites to assume a position which made them ³⁰ practically invincible. The former made their Imams invulnerable: they were immune from death or murder. The latter made them immortal and carried over their living influence to posterity.

— L. 9. حَتَّى يَبْلَأَ الْأَرْضَ عَدْلًا كَمَا مُلِئَتْ جَوْرًا. This phrase, ³⁵ as is well known, forms a part of the Mahdî tradition, IKhald.

II, 142 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi* p. 13 ff. Apart [43] from this generally accepted form of the hadith, we also meet

with the variant **حتى يملأ الأرض قِسْطًا وعدلاً كما ملئت جوراً**

وظُلماً IKhald. II, 149¹; IBab., *Ithbat* 35, Diyârbekrî II, 288; Abu'l-Mahâsin (Leyden, 1855) I, 243¹.¹ Bagd. repeatedly ⁵

quotes the reading **يملك** instead of **يملأ**. One might think of a scribal error. But the following story (Bagd. 96^b) makes this supposition impossible. Muğira b. Sa'id (p. 79 ff.) acknowledged Muhammed b. 'Abdallah as Imam. But when the latter was killed, Muğira was cursed by his followers, who maintained ¹⁰

انه كذب في دعواه ان محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن هو المهدي الذي يملك الارض لآته قُتِل ولم يملك الارض ولا عُشْرَهَا

See also fol. 9^b and Isfr. 12^a, who gives on the same page the conventional form of the Mahdi tradition.

— L. 10. I have restored Yahya's genealogy with the help of ¹⁵ Gen. Leyd. Comp. Tab. III, 1515¹⁶ note i and 1403¹⁶ (Addit.), where the editor equally substitutes Husein (not *al*-Husein, as he expressly remarks). Iji 352¹ has Yahya b. 'Omeir.—Yahya was killed during the reign of al-Musta'in in 250^b, Tab. III, 1515 ff., Shahr. 119. The general of the Zenz (p. 98³) pre-²⁰ tended to be this Yahya, Tab. III, 1745³ (anno 255).

— L. 12 ff. The same fact is recorded Tab. III, 1518² **فوجه** **محمد بن عبد الله لُحَارِبَتِه (يعنى لُحَارِبَةُ يَحْيَى بن عمر)** **الحسين بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم بن مُصْعَب**. Muhammed b. 'Abdallah was appointed Şâhib ash-Shorţah of Bagdad in 237^b, ²⁵ Tab. III, 1410²,² IKhall. No. 366 (in the biography of his brother and successor 'Obeidallah). His pedigree, as given in our text and confirmed by Tab. and IKhall. (who deals bio-

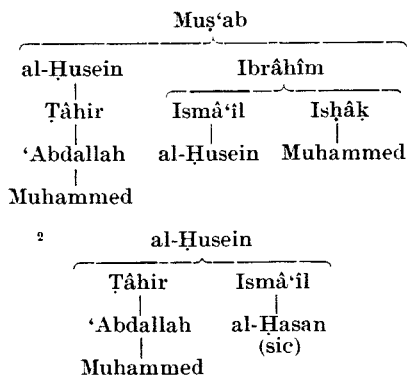
¹ Masudi V. 181 gives also the variant **كما ملئت شرّاً وجوراً**.

² This Muhammed cannot very well be identical with the one mentioned Tab. III, 1314¹¹ who died eleven years earlier. They are erroneously identified in the Tabari index. In the last mentioned passage **بن عبد الله** is to be struck out with Cod. C.

- [43] graphically with everyone of his ancestors), is absolutely assured. Just as certain is the genealogy of Husein b. Ismâ'il, whose uncle, Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm (l. 16), accepted a prominent post in the police of Bagdad in 207^h, Tab. III, 1062^e.¹ Under these circumstances it is difficult to account for the apposition **ابن عمه** "the son of his paternal uncle" (l. 15). Perhaps our author confounds the fact mentioned here with the one recorded Tab. III, 1405¹⁰ (anno 236), that Muhammed, the son of Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm, dispatched Husein b. Ismâ'il, this time his real cousin, to put down a rebellion in Fâris. Another not impossible, though less probable, solution would be to explain **ابن عم** as a cousin of a remoter degree,—in this case a third cousin. Thus Tab. I, 510 (=IAth. I, 142) Moses is called the "‘amm" of Phinehas. So far the reading of L. Br.—As for the genealogy given in Ed. and the other codices,² it can scarcely be correct and seems to be an attempt to explain **ابن عم**.

- [44] 44, l. 1. The genealogy as given in our text is confirmed by Gen. Leyd., Ya'qûbî II, 576, and Masudi, VII, 116. Elsewhere Muhammed's genealogy frequently appears in a mutilated shape. IKhald. I, 361 (also de Slane's translation) has one link too much (Muh. b. Kâsim b. Ali b. Ali (sic) b. 'Omar). Tab. III, 1165 and IAth. VI, 312 have one link too little (Muh. b. Kâsim b. 'Omar). Shahr. 118 penult. and Ijî 352 even omit two links (Muh. b. K. b. Ali b. al-Husein b. Ali b. A. T.). Muhammed was sent to prison by Mu'taṣim in 219,

¹ The relation of the three men mentioned in our text presents itself as follows :



and he died there, Tab., Masudi, Shahr. According to Masudi [44] (VII, 117), there were many Zeidites at the time he was writing his history (332^b) who believed in the "return" (Raj'a) of Muhammed. His followers were especially numerous in Kufa, Tabaristân and Deilam.

— L. 6 ff. Ibn Ḥazm's references to the *Keisâniyya*, which are frequent, though brief, substantially enrich our knowledge of this important sect. This at once shows itself in the explanation of the name, which is the only correct one among the numerous interpretations offered by other writers. The conventional explanation derives the name from Keisân, which is declared to have been a nickname of Mukhtâr (p. 19¹⁷), so the Dictionaries: *Jauharî* (comp. IKhall. No. 570), *Kâmûs*, *Lisân* and *Taj al-'Arûs*, sub voce كيسان; IKot. 300, Ikd 269⁶, Makr. 351³ (=de Sacy II, 592), Bagd. 11^b. On the other hand, endeavors were made to connect the founder of this sect in some way with Ali, or with his son Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whom the Keisâniyya regard as his successor and the heir of his mystic knowledge (a point on which this sect lays great stress). As there was a *maula* of Ali named Keisân (he falls, 20 while defending his master, in the battle of Siffin, Tab. I, 3293 =Iath. III, 247), he was declared the founder of the Keisâniyya and the disciple of Ali, or of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya, in the lore of mysticism, see Shahr. (who distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and the Mukhtâriyya), similarly Abu'l-Maali 25 157, IKhall. ib. (who also quotes the preceding explanation, with the confession *والله أعلم*), IKhald. I, 357,¹ Makr. ib., Kremer, *Ideen* 375. An attempt to reconcile both derivations is the interpretation quoted by Bagd. (11^b) "that *Mukhtâr* acquired his heterodox opinions from a *maula* of Ali by the name of *Keisân*," or the explanation recorded by Kashi 75 that Mukhtâr was called Keisân after Ali's *maula*, "who induced him to seek revenge for al-Ḥusein's blood and pointed out to him his murderers." Closest to the facts is Masudi V, 180: "They were called Keisâniyya because of their relation to 35

¹ The suffix in *مولانا* literally refers to Muh. b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and so it is taken by de Slane, p. 403. In accordance with our expositions, however, the suffix must be referred to Ali, who is mentioned a little earlier.

[44] al-Mukhtâr b. Abi 'Obeid ath-Thakafi, whose name was Keisân and whose kunya was Abû 'Omra . . . *Some of them, however, hold that Keisân Abû 'Omra is not identical with al-Mukhtâr*" (he refers for further information to his Maḳâlât).

5 The only correct explanation is the one offered by Ibn Ḥazm (here and Text, p. 77¹⁰), who designates Keisân Abû 'Omra as the *follower* (ṣāḥib) of Mukhtâr. The person referred to is Keisân, the chief of Mukhtâr's body-guard, Tab. II, 671' (= I. Ath. IV, 187).¹ He was a maula of the 'Oreina, a clan of the
10 Southern Bajila (Wüstenfeld, *Tibellen*, 9¹⁶), and stood at the head of the Mawâli. As the latter were the main actors in Mukhtâr's uprising (comp. especially the characteristic notice Tab. II, 651²), the sect, which first asserted itself on this occasion, received its name (perhaps as a *nomen odiosum*) from the
15 leader of the Mawâli.²

So far the name of the sect. As for its tenets, they contain elements both of the Zeiditic and the Imamitic creed, a circumstance which renders the classification of the Keisâniyya within the bipartite division of Shiism extremely difficult. Their cardinal doctrine is the recognition of the Imamate of Muhammed b.
20 al-Ḥanafiyya. But while agreeing with the Zeidiyya in rejecting the strictly legitimate principle in the Imamate and basing the claims of the Imam on his personal qualifications,³ they strongly emphasize with the Imâmiyya his supernatural knowledge of mystic lore.¹ In consequence of this ambiguous position,
25 the theologians often count the Keisâniyya as an independent sect, on an equal footing with the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, thus, e. g., Shahr. 109, Bagd. 9^o, Isfr. 7^a. The latter two, however, become unfaithful to their own classification and occasionally
30 reckon the Keisâniyya among the Imâmiyya: والكيسانية يُعدُّون والامامية في Isfr. 14^b (the same Bagd.). I. II., too, appears to

¹ Kashi 75 strangely misses the point when he states that Mukhtâr was called Keisân "after his ṣāḥib ash-Shorṭah whose kunya was Abû 'Omra and whose name was Keisân." See his other explanation above.

² Comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 89, and the footnote.

³ Ibn Ḥazm can scarcely be correct when he incidentally remarks (Ed. IV, 103¹) that according to the Keisâniyya, Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya was Imâm through a written statement (النص).

⁴ Van Vloten, *Chitisme*, p. 41-42.

waver on this point.¹ While in our passage he expressly [44] designates them as a branch of the Zeidiyya—and he is the more justified in doing so, as, in distinction from all other writers, he regards as the cardinal doctrine of the Zeidiyya the recognition of the Imamate in all the descendants of **Ali** (not Fâtima),²—⁵ he counts them repeatedly (Text 45¹⁴, 53¹², 54¹¹) among the sects of the Imâmiyya.

After the death of Muh. b. al-Īḥanafiyya, the Keisâniyya fell asunder into a number of factions. The most important of these was the *Hâshimiyya*, which transferred the Imamate to his son¹⁰ Abû Hâshim and considered him the heir of his father's mystic knowledge, Shahr. 112. Abû Hâshim having died without offspring, the Hâshimiyya were again divided into a large number of factions, which assigned the Imamate to various pretenders. Only a fraction of the Keisâniyya, stimulated¹⁵ by the mystery that surrounded Muh.'s death,³ denied his death altogether, and believed that he was hidden in the Raḍwa mountains, whence he would "return." This belief, as is well-known, found its poetical expression through Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid, and became through them known as specifically Keisanitic.⁴ A notice by Bagd. (11^b) has luckily preserved the name of the originator of this belief: **ثُمَّ افترق الذين**

**قالوا بامامة محمد بن الحنفية فزعم قوم منهم يُقال لهم
الكريية اصحاب ابي كرب الضري ان محمد بن الحنفية حتى لم
يمت وانه في جبل رضى وعنده عين من الماء وعين من
العسل يأخذ منهما رزقه وعن يمينه أسد وعن يساره نمر**²⁵

¹ See Introduction, p. 23.

² See Introd., p. 23. and Text, p. 75⁷⁻⁸, 58¹¹ and Comm.

³ The year of his death fluctuates between 80 and 114! See IKot. 111, Masudi V, 267, IKhall. No. 570, and especially Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 113. The same uncertainty exists as regards the place of his death. See the above-mentioned sources and Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 165.

⁴ The dogmatic historians are very well aware of these differences within the Keisâniyya. See also Istakhrî 21 (=IHaukal 28), Yâkût II, 790²⁰, Masudi V, 180.

[44] يفظانه من اعدائه الى وقت خروجه وهو المهدي المنتظر
Similarly Isfr. 10¹.

The Radwa mountain (or rather mountains) is situated at a distance of seven days from Medina, Yakut II, 790. It was⁵ considered extremely fertile, and was believed to be one of the mountains of Paradise.²

The individual traits, with which the belief in Ibn al-Hanafiyya's sojourn in Radwa has been embellished, are properly intelligible only when we bear in mind their origin, as well as the¹⁰ origin of the underlying conception, which is no other than the Messianic idea. On the overwhelming influence of this idea over Islam, see de Sacy XXXI ff., van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 54 ff. and my essay "Die Messiasidee im Islam" (in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's*, Frankfurt a. M. 1903, pp.¹⁵ 116-130, especially 121 ff. and 127). This influence also shows itself in numerous minor details which the Muhammedan theologians, being unaware of their origin, were bound to misunderstand, and which they in consequence purposely modified. A striking example of this tendency is offered, in our opinion, by²⁰ the detail, also recorded by I. H., that Ibn al-Hanafiyya was surrounded by beasts of prey. The original significance of this conception can scarcely be doubtful when examined in the form in which it appears in a poem of as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 4). In view of the importance of the question, I quote the decisive²⁵ verses in the original, adding the vowels and a translation:

وقالت الكربية اتباع ابى كرب بأن ابن
¹ Makr. 352¹ says briefly

الحنفية حتى لم يمت وهو الامام المنتظر
الكربية احباب ابى كرب الضير
158 Is this Abû Karb, of whom nothing else is known, identical perhaps with ابو الكروس, whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines, Ikd 269 ?

² Interesting in this connection is Burton's remark (*Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Mecca*, ed. 1898, I, 222): "I heard much of its valleys and fruits and bubbling springs, but afterward I learned to rank these tales with the superstitious legends attached to it. Gazing at its bare and ghastly heights, one of our party, whose wit was soured by the want of fresh bread, surlily remarked that such a heap of ugliness deserved ejection from heaven, an irreverence too public to escape general denunciation."

[44] سِنِينَ وَأَشْهُرًا وَيَرَى بَرَضَوَى * بِشَعْبٍ بَيْنَ أَنْمَارٍ وَأَسَدٍ
مُقِيمٍ بَيْنَ أَرَامٍ وَعَيْنٍ * وَحَفَّانٍ تَرُوحُ خِلَالِ زُبْدٍ
تُرَاعِيهَا السَّبَاعُ وَلَيْسَ مِنْهَا * مُلَاقِيَهُنَّ مُفْتَرِسًا بِحَدٍ
أَمِنَ بِهِ الرَّدَى فَرَتَعْنَ طَوْرًا * بِلَا خَوْفٍ لَدَى مَعَى وَوَرْدٍ

"Years and months (has Ibn al-Hanafiyya been hidden). But 5 he can be seen in Raḍwa in a glen among leopards and lions. He resides between land marks (?),¹ while big-eyed kine and the young ones of ostriches walk about at evening tide in the company of speckled goats. Together with them graze beasts of prey. Yet none of them attacks them to tear them with the 10 point (of their teeth?). They (the tame animals) are through him² secure from destruction, and they feed together without fear on the same meadow and at the same drinking place."

There is no need to prove that this description is a reflex of the Messianic prophecy Isa. 11, and the parallel is far more striking when we take into consideration the orthodox Muhammedan belief that at the end of Time, when Jesus shall have re-appeared and introduced the Golden Age, "lions and camels, tigers and oxen, wolves and lambs will graze peacefully together, and boys will play with snakes without danger."³ This original 20 idea of the eternal peace extending over the wild animals can still be discerned in I. H.'s words, if we vocalize (Ed. IV, 179²¹)

عَنْ يَمِينِهِ أَسَدٌ وَعَنْ يَسَارِهِ نَمْرٌ and thus read the plural, which is also found in as-Sayyid's poem (first line of our quotation).⁴ In any event, the Messianic character of this conception was 25 misunderstood. The wild animals were taken to be the guardians of Ibn al-H. The plural was accordingly substituted by

¹ Comp. Lane s.v. أَرَامٌ.

² Through Muh. b. al-H. If the suffix referred to شَعْبٍ, we should expect فِيمِ, not بِي. [See, however, p. 38, n. 1.]

³ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 9.

⁴ In our translation, p. 44¹⁰ f., we have followed the ordinary conception.

[44] the singular, and in explanation the dual **يَحْفَظَانَهُ** was added, which gives an entirely different appearance to the whole description, thus, e. g., Shahr. 111 penult., *Furât al-Wafayât* I, 24, Bagd. 11^b, Isfr. 10^a.

5 The other details recorded in this paragraph equally show traces of the Messianic idea.

“Conversing with angels” (l. 11) has its source apparently in the words of as-Sayyid (*Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 183) **تُرَاجِعُهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ الْكَلَامَا**. The Messiah residing in Paradise
10 (comp. *Bet Hamidrash*, ed. Jellinek II, 29), he naturally holds intercourse with the angels.

L. 12 apparently rests on as-Sayyid’s verse **يَا ابْنَ الرِّسُولِ**
وَأَنْتَ حَتَّى تُرَزَّقَ Masudi V, 183, Dahabî, *Ta’rîkh al-Islâm* VII.¹
Here the original conception obviously is that the Messiah gets
15 his food from the outside. I. H.’s words remind one vividly of I Kings 17, 6.

Another form of this conception which strongly indicates Messianic influence is that which makes Ibn al-H. derive his sustenance from two fountains, one of honey, the other of water,
20 both flowing near him. Bagd. 11^b (and Isfr. 10^a): **عَيْنٌ مِنَ الْمَاءِ**
عَيْنَانِ: شَاهِرٌ ۖ وَعَيْنٌ مِنَ الْعَسَلِ يَأْخُذُ مِنْهُمَا رِزْقَهُ, Shahr. 111:
نَضَّاحَتَانِ تَجْرِيَانِ بِمَاءٍ وَعَسَلٍ, comp. *Furât* I, 24. This statement is probably derived from a Keisanite poem which is generally assigned to Kuthayyir, *Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 182,
25 Shahr. 111, IKhald. I, 358.² The real character of this conception

¹ Ms. Strassburg (Spitta No. 12), in the biography of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya. The Ms. is not paginated.—Comp. Yâkût II, 790¹⁰

حَتَّى مُقِيمٌ (=IHaukal 28) only has **حَتَّى يُرَزَّقَ** به مقيم حتى يُرَزَّقَ به.

² Only IBab., *Ithbat* 32, ascribes it to as-Sayyid. Similarly *Agh.* VII, 10, contrary to VIII, 32, and omitting the decisive verse,

تَغَيَّبَ لَا يُرَى عَنْهُمْ زَمَانًا * **بِرِضْوَى بَيْنَ عَسَلٍ وَمَاءٍ**

Just what considerations led Barbier de Meynard (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 247) to decide in favor of as-Sayyid’s authorship is difficult to understand.

is revealed in the undeniably older form which is preserved [44]

Bagd. 94^b. Ibn as-Saudā (p. 18³⁶) is quoted as saying: **وَاللَّهِ**

لَيَنْبَعَنَّ لِعَلِيٍّ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْكَوْفَةِ عَيْنَانِ تُفِيضُ أَحَدَاهُمَا عَسَلًا

وَالْأُخْرَى سَمْنًا, and **وَيَغْتَرَفُ مِنْهُمَا شَبِيعَتُهُ**¹

5 **وَقَدْ مَاتَ ابْنُهُ الْحُسَيْنُ وَاعْحَابُهُ بِكَرْبَلَاءَ** (95^a) reasonably replies

عَظْشًا وَلَمْ يَنْبَعْ لَهُمْ مَاءٌ فَضْلًا عَنْ عَسَلٍ وَسَمْنٍ.

This "honey and butter" which is the food of the Messiah seems nothing but the **חֶמֶץ וְדָבַשׁ** which, according to Isaiah's prediction (7, 22), "everyone shall eat that is left in the land.

It is but natural that to Kuthayyir, who was at home in Najd¹⁰ and Hijâz,² water appeared a more appropriate article of food than butter (or cream), which was accessible to every Bedouin,³ the more so, since the Radwa mountains were believed to be very rich in water.

— L. 16. Mûsa b. Ja'far, with the by-name al-Kâzim, was¹⁵ born 129 and died between 183-186. IKhall. No. 756, Tab. III, 649, see also ib. 2509. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Mahdi and, having been released for a time, again imprisoned by Rashîd. It is assumed that he was poisoned in prison, IKhall. ib., Shahr. 127. He was buried in the Kureish ceme-²⁰

tery (في مقابر قريش) in Bagdad, and his grave was still visited

by pilgrims in the time of Baḡdâdi: **مَشْهَدُ مُوسَى بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ** معروف في الجانب الغربي من بغداد يُزار (Bagd. 19^a).

إذا نزل (يعني عليًا) من السماء يُفْتَحُ له في مسجد¹ Isfr. 56^a

الكوفة عينان أحدهما من العسل والأخرى من السمن [وهو add] وشيعة يأكلان منها (منهما read).

² Kuthayyir lived mostly in Medina: Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.* I, 48. His poems are innumerable times quoted by Yâkût as *loci probantes* for localities of that district.

³ This also would speak in favor of Kuthayyir's authorship of that poem. As-Sayyid lived mostly in large cities. Brockelmann I, 83.

- [44] The sect which recognizes Mûsa as Ja'far's successor in the Imamate, his elder brother Ismâ'il having died before his father, are called the *Mûsawiyya* (موسوية or موسويون), Shahr. 126, Bagd. 19^a, Isfr. 13^b, IHaukal 65²¹ and others. After his death his followers still denied that he was dead and believed in his "return."¹ They were for this reason designated by a more comprehensive term as the Wâkifa or Wâkifiyya (see p. 51), Shahr. 127; IBab., *Ithbat* 36.² Probably in consequence of their having been deceived in this expectation, the Mûsawiyya were branded by their opponents as the Mamtûra: "those that were rained upon." "The belief of the Wâkifiyya attaches to Mûsa b. Ja'far. They are identical with the Mamtûra, and it is by this name that this party is known in distinction from other sects of the Shiites" (Masudi VII, 117). Zeid. says similarly (fol. 104^a): وَصَنَّفَ آخَرُ مِنَ الرَّاغِبِينَ مِنْ أَحْبَابِ مُوسَى

وَقَفُوا عَلَى مُوسَى وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ مُوسَى حَيٌّ لَمْ يَمُتْ وَلَا يَمُوتُ حَتَّى يَمْلَأَهَا (يَعْنِي الْأَرْضَ) عَدْلًا كَمَا مَلَأْتُ جَوْرًا وَيُقَالُ لَهُمُ الْوَاقِفَةُ وَالْمِطْوُورَةُ. See also Kashi 287, bottom. According to Shahr., this nickname was coined by Ali b. Ismâ'il (p. 60^a), who said to them مَا أَنْتُمْ إِلَّا كِلَابٌ مِطْوُورَةٌ. Bagd. ascribes it to Yânus

كَانَ مِنَ الْقِطِيعِيَّةِ وَنَظَرَ بَعْضُ الْمَوْسَوِيَّةِ 'Abderrahmân:³ فَقَالَ فِي بَعْضِ كَلَامِهِ أَنْتُمْ أَهْوَنُ عَلَى عَيْنِي مِنَ الْكِلَابِ الْمِطْوُورَةِ. Isfr. again ascribes this utterance to the well-known Shiite Zurâra b. A'yun.

¹ Kashi 286 tells a story which satisfactorily accounts for the rise of this belief. Two trustees of Mûsa, who were in charge of a fund of 30,000 dinârs consisting of taxes that belonged to Mûsa, had squandered the money while the latter was in prison. When Mûsa died, the trustees, fearing the claims of his heirs, denied Mûsa's death, and endeavored to spread the belief in his "return."

² The opposition of the "Twelvers" to this belief vented itself in the invention of utterances, usually put into the mouth of Ja'far, which violently protest against the Mûsawiyya doctrine. Some very characteristic specimens may be found in Kashi 284-288.

³ One of Mûsa's adherents, Fih. 220; comp. Tusy, p. 366 f.

—L. 20. The name of this sect is spelt **الناوسية** and [44] **الناووسية**. Shahr. 126 is in doubt as to whether this name is derived from a man **ناوس** or a place **ناوسا**.¹ The other sources have nothing to offer on the subject. The reading *al-Baṣrī* (instead of *al-Miṣrī*) adopted in our text is, apart from general 5 considerations, confirmed by the notice Isfr. 13^a: **الناووسية وهم أتباع رجل من أهل البصرة وكان يُنسب إلى ناووس كان هنالك**.

The meaning of the last words is not quite clear to me. **ناووس** is a vault, especially a sepulchral vault (*Dozy*, s. v.).²

—L. 21. Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq was born 80 or 83 and died in 10 Medina in 148 during Maṣṣūr's reign; *IKhall.* No. 130; Nawawī, *Tuhfah*, p. 195; see also Blochet 12. Jaʿfar occupies a central position among the Imams of the Shiʿa. His authority is considered final. See on this unique position of Jaʿfar pp. 79¹, 89^a and Index.

45, l. 1. On *Ismāʿil*, see Index.

15

[45]

—*Ibidem*. The reading *Sabābiyya* (note 1) is frequently to be met with in MSS. See, e. g., Text, p. 71, note 13; Comm. p. 27, n. 2; Tab. III, 29, note k; *Lubb. al-Lubāb* s. v. **السيابى** note d; the examples can be easily multiplied. The manuscripts 20 of Bagd. and Isfr., which bestow great care on the diacritical points, consistently read the same way. This coincidence cannot be accidental. The reading is satisfactorily accounted for when we bear in mind that the characteristic and most objectionable feature of Shiism, in the eyes of the orthodox, is the 25 **سبُّ الحُكَّامَة** “the denunciation of the Companions,” especially

¹ Yakut IV, 733 mentions a place **ناووسُ الطَّبَّيَّة**, near Hamadan. It is difficult to state whether this is the place to which Shahr. refers.

² Is **ناووس** mentioned among the celebrities of the Imāmiyya Shahr. 145 identical with our **ناووس**? —Tusy, p. 186 (No. 400), says of a certain ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Zeid al-Anbarī **وكان مقبياً بواسط**

من الشيعة. *Fihrist* 198⁴ reads instead **من الشيعة**. **البابوشية**. But the reading **الناووسية** is no doubt correct, as immediately afterwards a man is mentioned who also belonged to the party of Jaʿfar.

[45] of Abû Bekr and 'Omar. Attachment to Ali without this denunciation is تشييع حسن⁵, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 443, n. 3, comp. ZDMG. 50, 115. See Text 72, n. 2, and the characteristic anecdote, below p. 65. Typical is also the notice Agh. XI, 46^b: The Keisânite Khandak al-Asadî, having been assured by Kuthayyir that his family would be taken care of, denounces in Mekka, during the pilgrimage, Abû Bekr and 'Omar and suffers martyrdom for it. The Sunnites therefore designate the Shiites as Sabbâbûn, "denouncers", Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1. As the name Sabâiyya is frequently applied to ultra-Shiitic sects in general (p. 100), it was for polemical purposes, with a slight change in the diacritical points, transformed into Sabâbiyya, or more correctly, Sabbâbiyya.¹

—L. 2. On Ibn Sabâ, see p. 18³⁶ ff.

—L. 3. The belief that Ali was hidden in the clouds whence he would return on earth is ascribed by all theological writers (Shahr. 132 ult.; Ijî 343; Makr 357¹; see also IKhald. I, 358) to Ibn Sabâ. While many, or most, doctrines attributed to this founder of Shiism are apocryphal or of later origin, *this* belief is no doubt authentic. This conception must have become extremely popular among the Shiites at an early period, as numerous early authorities bear witness to it. Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Cairo 1284^h, I, 51) in the name of Sufyân (ath-Thaurî, died 161): انّ الرافضة تقول انّ عليّاً في السحاب. Zeid. fol. 104^e

فصنّف من الروافض as-Sahâbiyya mentions a special sect called as-Sahâbiyya

يُقال لهم السحابيّة وهم يزعمون ان عليّاً حيّ لم يميت يسوق العرب والجم بعصاه وهم يزعمون انّ عليّاً في السحاب. Abu'l-Maali 158 calls the founder of this sect Muhammed b. Ya'kûb اليعقوبية احباب محمد بن يعقوب ايشان گویند علی هرگاه

¹ Curiously enough there was also a sect called Sabbâbiyya, named after Sabbâb, a client of the Omeyyad family, which throughout the Omeyyad reign stood up for this dynasty and denounced its enemies, *Agh.* XIV, 162.—A certain 'Abdallah b. Sabbâb is mentioned Ikd 269, immediately after 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, as one whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines. But I have nowhere found any reference to this person.

در میان ابر بدنیا آید. ‘Abdallah b. Lahî'a, the well-known [45] Shiitic traditionist (died 174), “who was a silly, weak-minded old man, believed that Ali was in the clouds. He would sit in our midst, then look up to the clouds and exclaim: ‘Here is Ali, passing in the clouds!’” (IKhald. II, 155, quoting from an-Nasâ’î, died 757^h). The poet Ishâk b. Suweid al-‘Adawî¹ ridicules in a much-quoted poem² “the people who greet the clouds when they mention Ali.” This belief spread the more easily, as Ali’s grave was unknown,³ Damiri, *Hayât al-Hayawân* (Bûlâk 1284^h) II, 267. According to Ibn Asâkir (died 571),⁴ the camel which was carrying Ali’s body to Medina to be buried there disappeared with the body: “for this reason the people of ‘Irâk say he is in the clouds.”

On the Messianic basis of this conception, see my essay “Die Messiasidee im Islam,” p. 125. 15

—L. 9 ff. This utterance of Ibn Sabâ is in all probability derived from the anecdote told by Jâhîz, *Bayân* (Cairo 1313^h) II, 73,⁵ on the authority of ash-Sha’bî (d. 103). A certain Jarîr b. Keis met Ibn as-Saudâ (=Ibn Sabâ) in Madâin.⁶ “He (Ibn Sabâ) said: What is the news? I said: the Commander of the Faithful (=Ali) has been killed . . . He said: Even if you had brought us his brain in a hundred bags, we would surely know that he would not die till he should drive you with his stick.” Bagd. 94⁴ tells the same story, perhaps drawing

from the same source, in a similar manner: وقد روى عن عامر ابن سراحيل الشَّعْبِيِّ ان ابن سبأ قيل له ان عليًّا قد قُتل فقال 25

¹ Bagd. 94⁴, 43⁴ العدري. He was a contemporary of Wâsil b. ‘Afa, ib.

² Bagd. ib.: Isfr. 29⁴; *Kâmil* ed. Wright 546³; Ikd 267.

³ The Imamites, however, insist that he was buried in قري in Kufa, Abu'l-Maali, 164; IBab., *Itikadat* 22⁴. Their motive is plain, see p. 30¹⁴.

⁴ Quoted by Suyutî. *Ta'rikh* 175, also by ad-Dimishkî al-Karamâni, *Akhbâr ad-Duwal* (on the margin of I. Athîr's *Ta'rikh*, Bulak, 1290^h) I, 221⁷.

⁵ I. H. quotes Jâhîz also Text 50⁹ and elsewhere.—The passage in *Bayân* was pointed out to me by the late van Vloten, Leyden.

⁶ Ali banished Ibn Sabâ to Madâin. Shahr. 132. Ikd 269, Bagd. 6⁴, 94⁴.

لَهُ لِن (لَيْتُنْ) جِئْتُمُونَا بِدِمَاغِهِ فِي صِرَّةٍ لَمْ نَصَدِّقْ بِمَوْتِهِ [45]

لَأَنَّهُ لَا يَمُوتُ حَتَّى يَنْزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَيَمْلِكُ الْأَرْضَ بِحَذَائِيرِهَا.

The reading adopted in the text (note 6) is in accordance with these quotations.

5 On the two doctrines (Raj'a and Docetism) underlying Ibn Saba's utterance, see p. 23 ff.

—L. 12 ff. The following are counted among the Keisāniyya, because they regarded their Imams as the successors of Abū Hāshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafīyya (p. 89').

10 —L. 13. On Abū Muslim, see Index.

—L. 15 ff. 'Abdallah rose under the last Omeyyad Caliph in 127, see the elaborate accounts of Agh. XI, 66 ff.; Tab. II, 1879 ff.; I Ath. V, 246. He was forced to give up Kufa and to retreat into the mountains of Media. He was in temporary pos-
15 session of the province of Fāris, and—this is significant in connection with l. 16—the mountains of Iṣbahān. He went so far as to strike his own coins (ZDMG. 46, 443). He was killed in 129 by order of Abū Muslim, Tab. II, 1976 = I Ath. V, 282. See about him also Text 71¹⁴.—Gen. Leyd. has the following notice about

20 him: (read قَبَضَ) عبد الله الشاعر الخطيب المتربّل قبض عليه ابو مسلم صاحب الدولة العباسية وحبسه بهرة وقيل
(read وَقْتَلُ) بها وَقْتَرَهُ بموضع يقال له قهندس (sic) من هرة
وكان له وَلَدٌ وانقرض.

His followers were called Janāḥiyya, Bagd. 97^b, 103^b; Isfr. 25 57^a; Iji 345; Makr. 353¹¹, because his father² Mu'awiya bore the by-name Dū'l-Janāḥin, see especially Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 339.

On the Imamate of the descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib see I. H.'s remark (Ed. IV. 90¹⁹): "one party says: the

¹ The text is corrupt أنباع عبد الله بن البغيرة (sic) بن أبي جعفر بن أبي طالب بن عمون.

² On the sects deriving their name from the father's name of the founder see Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2.

Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of Ja'far¹ b. Abî [45] Ṭālib. Subsequently they confined it to 'Abdallah b. Mu'āwiya b. Abdallah b. Ja'far b. A. Ṭ."

His father Mu'āwiya² must already have enjoyed a similar distinction. When he still was a school boy, the Keisanite—this is ⁵ important on account of l. 14—Kuthayyir would hug him fondly and say to him: "Thou art one of the little prophets" (Agh. VIII, 34, see p. 27, note 4.)

—L. 20. 'Abdallah's teachings as described by Bagd., Iji and Makr. are in the nature of other ultra-Shiitic doctrines: God's ¹⁰ successive incarnation in the prophets and Imams,³ the belief in Transmigration of Souls coupled with the denial of Resurrection (see p. 74) and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran, Iji, Makr.=de Sacy II, 595.

¹ Ed. erroneously Ali. Cod. L. II, 86^a has the correct reading.

² Interesting is the remark of Sibṭ, Imams: (read اَحَدٌ) وَلَمْ يَسْمِ احداً

من بنى هاشم وَلَدَهُ معاويةَ اَلَا عبد الله بن جعفر فهجرة بنو هاشم لذلك ولم يعتدل (يعيدل) عليه اَحَدٌ منهم اَلَا انقرض بل له بقية من ولده باصبهان وغيرها من الجبال ورأيت مع الصوفية رجلاً صوفياً وَلَدَ في اصبهان . . . يذكر انه من ولد محمد بن صالح بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر ولم يتسع لي الزمان في مسئلته عن سلفه وما بقي من اهل هذا البيت.

وزعم انه هو الامام بعد عليّ وأولاده من صَلْبِهِ ³ Bagd. 97^b فبايعوه على امامته ورجعوا الى الكوفة وحكروا لأتباعهم ان عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر زعم انه ربّ وان روح الاله كانت في آدم ثم في شيث ثم دارت في الانبياء Here the text

breaks off. Between 97^b and 98^a something (in all probability one leaf) is missing. This is to be added to Ahwardt's Catalogue No. 2800. On this doctrine of successive incarnation see Text 68¹ and Comm.

[45] On the belief in 'Abdallah's concealment (ġaiba) in the mountains of Iṣbahân see especially Ijī (who writes اصفهان) and Isfr. 57^a.

— L. 22. On the Dahriyya see de Boer 80.—One of his stable companions was called al-Baḳlī, because he was of the opinion that man is like a vegetable (al-baḳl) “and when he dies, he does not return (on earth)”, see p. 24, n. 1, Agh. XI, 75. 'Abdallah's Ṣāhib ash-Shorṭah is said to have been a Dahrite, *ibidem*.

¹⁰ 46, l. 2 ff. The same belief of the Jews in four Immortals [46] is mentioned by I. II., Ed. I, 187, in a brief survey on Jewish history. After Joshua it was Phinehas who ruled over the Jews for twenty-five years. ¹“A large section of them (the Jews) maintain that he is alive till this day, he and three per-
¹⁵ sons besides him, viz., Ilyās (Elijah) the Prophet, the Aronide,² Malkiṣideḳ³ b. Fāliḡ⁴ b. 'Ābir [b. Shālīh]⁵ b. Arfaḡshād b. Sām b. Nūḥ, the servant whom Ibrāhīm dispatched to woo Ribḳā,⁶ the daughter of Batuil,⁷ the son of Nākhūr, the brother of Ibrāhīm.”

²⁰ In our passage (p. 46, note 1) L. Br. also add the name of Methuselah. But it is clear from the parallel quoted here that the name came in by mistake.”

As to the four others above-mentioned, there can scarcely be any doubt that, as far as Melchizedek is concerned, I. II. con-

¹ The following variants are taken from Codd. L. and V.—L. agrees with Ed. See *Introd.*, p. 18.

² V. missing. See p. 47²⁰.

³ V. missing.

⁴ Ed. فالج, L. V. فالغ.

⁵ V. من مالح (sic). Ed. L. missing. Supplied in view of Gen. 10, 24.

⁶ So L. V.—Ed. رفقة.

⁷ L. V. يثوال.

⁸ Methusalem is reputed in Jewish tradition as a צדיק גמור “a perfectly righteous man.” *Aboth di R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, ch. 32, and he is counted among the seven Long-lived. Baba Bathra, fol. 121^b, comp. Goldziher, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammari'n*, p. XLII. But this has nothing to do with immortality. Perhaps he is confounded here with his father Enoch.

found the Jews with the Christians. M.'s immortality is taught [46] as early as in the Epistle to the Hebrews 1, 8; 7, 3 ff., and it is known from the polemics of the Church fathers to what extent this belief, which found expression in a special sect called Malchizedekites, was spread among Christian sectarians. 5

The genealogy of M. as given by I. H. (and other writers) is only a modification of the early Jewish tradition (also recorded by the Church fathers) which identifies him with Sem, the son of Noah; see Louis Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern* I, 118, II, 104. 10

Eliezer, "the servant of Ibrâhîm," is mentioned among the nine Immortals who entered Paradise while still alive, *Derekh Eres Zâta*, ch. 1. It is worthy of notice that in neither passage is Eliezer mentioned by name. He was probably designated in Jewish circles merely as עבד אברהם. 15

Elijah's immortality, which is, of course, a direct consequence of the Biblical report, is already implied in Sirach 48¹⁰⁻¹¹. On the Rabbinical legends clustering around Elijah see the exhaustive article (by Louis Ginzberg) in *Jewish Encyclopedia* V, 122 ff.—The notion that he was a Kôhen, "an Aronide," is 20 very old and already known to the Church fathers, *Jew. Enc.* V, 122^a bottom; Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, pp. 76-80.

Phinehas is in Jewish tradition commonly identified with Elijah. This identification is very old and already known to Origen, Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, p. 78. 25

— Note 7, 1. 2. Read وعقلسير "brainless" (Turkish).

— L. 8. The literature on al-Khaḍîr is too extensive to be recorded here in detail. The best accounts on the Khaḍîr legends are found in Thaʿlabî's ʿArâis (Cairo 1306^b), p. 137 ff., Damirî, *Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân* (Bulâk 1284^b) I. 338 ff. (sub voce حوت موسى) and *Tâj al-ʿArâis* III, 187 (sub voce الخضر). The ubiquitous prophet is particularly popular with the Şûfis (see espec. *Tâj* ib.), just as Elijah is with the Jewish mystics. The famous Şûfi Ibn al-ʿArabi (died 638^b)—to quote one instance out of many—records in his *al-Futûḥât al-Makkiyya* numerous 35 conversations with al-Khaḍîr. Kremer, *Idem*, p. 103, comp. p. 71 note.

The Shiitic sects which believe in the "concealment" and "return" (ḡaiba and rajʿa, p. 28) of their Imams quote in con-

[46] firmation of their belief the continued existence of al-Khaḍir and Elijah, Shahr. 131, IKhald. I, 358.

— L. 10. Elijah is usually associated with deserts and ruins, see, e. g., Pirke Aboth, ch. 6, Berakhoth 3^a, Sanhedrin 98^a.—⁵ al-Khaḍir ("the green Prophet") is, on account of his name, brought in connection with water and vegetation.

— L. 13. The same objection is found in connection with Elijah, who in the belief of the people is present at every circumcision. "How can it be imagined that Elijah should be present at every circumcision that takes place in Israel? How can he accomplish it, since, Israel being a nation scattered and divided, many circumcisions take place simultaneously in the East of the World and the West thereof?" Glasberg, *Zichron Brith lu-Rishonim* (Berlin 1892) p. 233.

¹⁵ 47, l. 3. "'Abdallah b. Salām" is a lapsus calami for "'Abd [47] as-Salām."—Muhammed b. 'Abd as-Salām is identical with Ibn 'Abd as-Salām, who defends the belief in al-Khaḍir, *Tāj al-'Arūs* III, 187. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār, *Complementum libri as-Silah*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887, p. 136, No. 483:

²⁰ ¹ابن عبد السلام الحافظ المعروف بابن شق (sic) الليل—
Ṭalabīra is situated on the Tajo, in the district of Toledo, Yakut III, 542.

— L. 6. I have not been able to identify this Kātib with the not unusual name. He is mentioned by I. Ḥ., Ed. I, 111 :
²⁵ He takes I. Ḥ. to a friend of his to show him the miracles he is working. But I. Ḥ. succeeds in unmasking him as a juggler.

— L. 11. This ḥadīth, which is recorded both by Muslim and Bukhārī and is in consequence canonical, reads fully as follows:

The Prophet says to Ali ^{أَمَّا تَرَضَىٰ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ}

³⁰ ²من موسى غير أنه لا نبي بعدي. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 438, Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣṣ al-Ġāba* IV, 26³ (with the variant ³لا نُبُوَّةَ بعدي) comp. ZDMG. 50, 119. The tendency of the ḥadīth is transparent. It is directed against the extravagant worship of Ali (and the Imams) by the Ġāliya. On the beginning of the

¹ Whether ⁴محمد بن عبد السلام الحشني repeatedly quoted by I. Ḥ. in Isnāds (e. g., Ed. I, 109 ult, V, 5²⁰) is identical with our Muhammed I am not in a position to determine.

hadith see p. 135³⁰.—A similar tradition with the same tendency is quoted by Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 105.

— Note 8. Cod. L. contains the following marginal note (in extremely illegible and unpointed characters) **الظاهر من**

معناه أنه لا يحدث بعده نبيّ وإنّ شريعته قاهرة على جميع الشرائع لا يجوز لأحد يُوجد بعده أن يخالفه في شريعته ولذلك قال صلى الله عليه وسلّم لو كان موسى حيّاً لما تبعه إلّا أنبأى ولذلك كان الحضر عليه السلام فيما يُقبل عنه أنه يعبد الله تعالى على شريعة نبيّنا عليه السلام. The gloss is apparently that of a reader. It is missing in Br. which is otherwise identical with L.

— L. 15. I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. I, 77⁶: “It is well-established that the Prophet said that there would be no prophet after him, with the exception of what the reliable traditions contain regarding the advent of Jesus, who was sent to the Jews and whom the Jews pretend to have killed and crucified. It is necessary firmly to believe in all this and it is well-established that the existence of prophecy after the Prophet is absurd.”

— L. 17. The Berber tribe Baraġwāta in the extreme North-west of Africa formed an independent commonwealth under Tarif, who claimed descent from the tribe Simeon. His son Ṣāliḥ pretended to be a prophet and composed a new Koran of eighty Suras in the Berberic language, Ibn Adharī, ed. Dozy I, 44. For their doctrine, see ibidem 234 ff. During the reign of their seventh king they still expected the “return” of Ṣāliḥ; Dozy, *Isl.* 348 ff., Kremer, *Ideen* 200, 372.

— Note 12. The Baraġwāta Commonwealth was destroyed by the Almoravides in 1030, Dozy, *ib.*, Kremer, *ib.*

— L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between Kaṭʿiyya and Kiṭṭiʿiyya. The former is found, e. g., Masudi VIII, 40; Shahr. 17, 127, 128, 147; Makr. 351²¹. The latter form is consistently used by I. H., Bagd. and Isfr., also Masudi V, 443, 475. The form Kiṭṭiʿiyya as the more unusual one seems to be original.

35

- [47] The nature of the *Kittī'iyya* can best be understood when contrasted with its antithesis, the *Wākifiyya* or *Wākifa*, p. 40. The point of controversy is the reality of the Imam's death (see p. 30) and the question, dependent on it, of the election of a successor. **وَقَفَ** **مُوتَهُ** **مُوتَهُ** or **تَوَقَّفَ** **فِي** **مُوتِهِ** means "to be uncertain, to be in doubt,"¹ as regards the Imam's death," i. e., refuse to believe that the Imam is dead and, still recognizing him as Imam, refrain from electing a successor. The exact reverse of it is **تَطَعُ** **بِمُوتِهِ** "definitely to assert his death,"² to believe that the death of the Imam was real and, in consequence, transfer (ساق) the Imamate from the dead Imam to his successor. This state of the case is still perfectly clear in Shahr., as the following examples will show: 173 . . . **مَنْ** **تَوَقَّفَ** **فِي** **مُوتِهِ** . . . **الَّذِينَ** **قَطَعُوا** **بِمُوتِهِ** 128, **وَمَنْ** **قَطَعُ** **بِمُوتِهِ** **وَسَاقُ** **الْإِمَامَةِ** **إِلَى** **ابْنِهِ** 15 **مُوسَى** . . . **سَاقُوا** **الْإِمَامَةَ** **بَعْدَهُ** (in opposition to the *Wākifiyya*, p. 40). Then **وَقَفَ** and **تَوَقَّفَ** were interpreted in their literal meaning "to stand still" and the construction **وَقَفَ** **(تَوَقَّفَ)** **عَلَيْهِ** came in use in the sense: "to stand still at him (at the Imām)," i. e., to uphold his Imamate without electing a successor because 20 of the unreal character of his death. Substantially then this expression is identical with the phrase **وَقَفَ** **(تَوَقَّفَ)** **فِي** **مُوتِهِ**, and both are opposed to **قَطَعُ** **بِمُوتِهِ** "to believe in the Imam's death and elect a new Imam." Thus Shahr. 127 **وَمِنْهُمْ** **مَنْ** **قَطَعُ** **بِمُوتِهِ** **(يَعْنِي** **بِمُوتِ** **مُوسَى** **بْنِ** **جَعْفَرٍ)** **وَيُقَالُ** **لَهُمُ** **الْقَطْعِيَّةُ** **وَمِنْهُمْ** **مَنْ** **تَوَقَّفَ** **عَلَيْهِ** **وَقَالَ** **أَنَّهُ** **لَمْ** **يَمُتْ** **وَسَيُخْرَجُ** **بَعْدَ** **الْغَيْبَةِ** **وَيُقَالُ** 25 **ثُمَّ** **مِنْهُمْ** **مَنْ** **وَقَفَ** **وَقَالَ** **بِالرَّجْعَةِ** **وَمِنْهُمْ** **لَهُمُ** **الْوَاقِفِيَّةُ** or p. 16:

¹ See, e. g., Shahr. 131 **فَلَكِنْ** **مِنْ** **الْوَاقِفِيَّةِ** **فِي** **ذَلِكَ**. "Then we are in doubt concerning this."

² See on this meaning of **قَطَعُ** my *Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, I, (Frankfort on M., 1902) sub voce.

مَنْ وقف عليه وقال برَجْعته ومنهم مَنْ ساق [47]
الإمامة في أولاده.¹

Both the beliefs of the Kīṭṭī'iyya and Wākīfiyya are in themselves merely relative conceptions and express but a certain attitude of mind. They become real only when applied to 5 certain definite individuals. In consequence of this their relative character, their contents are somewhat elastic and change in accordance with the person to whom they are applied. As a rule, the contrast between the two sects hinges on the person of Mūsa b. Ja'far (p. 39¹¹), the succession down to Ja'far, his 10 father, being a matter of common agreement among the Shiites (p. 104²⁶). Those that refuse to admit his death and await his "return" are called Wākīfiyya (also Mūsawiyya and, with their nickname, Mamṭūra, p. 40¹²). Those, on the other hand, who 15 admit his death and in consequence transfer the Imamate to his descendants are called the Kīṭṭī'iyya. Comp. the passages quoted above from Shahr. See Masudi V, 443: Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65¹¹) was an intimate friend of Mūsa b. Ja'far. Yet he was a Kīṭṭī'iy, i. e., he believed that Mūsa was dead. Bagd. 19⁴:

يونس بن عبد الرحمن القُمي كان من القطيعية وناظر بعض 20
الموسوية. Kashi in a special article on the Wākīfiyya, p. 284–288, understands and applies this term in the same manner.

The name, however, occurs also in connection with other individuals of the Alidic family.

Thus Wākīfiyya is found as another designation for Ismā- 25 'īliyya, those who believe in the "return" of Musa's brother Ismā'il. Shahr. 127.

¹ I have dwelt at some length on this point, as Haarbrücker in his Shahr. translation utterly misunderstood the whole matter. He takes قطع in its ordinary meaning "to cut off" (abschneiden) and interprets it in the sense "to cut off the series of Imams" and allow no further Imam. In consequence, the contradictio in adiecto that those who cut off (i. e., close) the series of Imams transfer the Imamate to their descendants, is repeatedly to be met with in his translation. E. g., I, 25: "Andere machen mit seinem Tode einen Abschnitt und führen das Imamāt auf seinen Sohn über," or. still more nonsensically, 192: "Andere schnitten mit seinem Tode (die Reihe der Imame) ab" and so forth. The same, Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 82 ff.—It is difficult to see how these authors could make any sense out of this translation.

- [47] The name *Kiṭṭi'iyya* is found in connection with Ali, the son of Mûsa, Makr. 351²⁵. Zeid. 104^a applies this term to the "followers of Ali b. Muhammed," apparently referring to Ali an-Nakî (died 254), the grandfather of the Shiitic Mahdî, 5 "the man of the cellar."

Gradually, however, the two terms were used pre-eminently in connection with the Mahdî, the Imam of the "Twelvers." Those who did not admit the death of his father, al-Hasan al-'Askari, and consequently rejected his own claims to the Imamate 10 are called the *Wâkifiyya*, IBab., *Ithbat* 39 (p. 36, however, this term is used as a synonym for the *Mûsawiyya*). Those again who believed in al-Hasan's death and transferred the Imamate to the Mahdi, were called the *Kiṭṭi'iyya*. With the spread of the "Twelvers" and the extinction of the other Shiitic factions, 15 the term *Kiṭṭi'iyya* became the exclusive possession of this sect and was generally used as a synonym for *Ithnâ'ashariyya*, which is probably of later origin (I. II. does not use it in his *Milal*), comp. I. II. in our passage; Shahr. 17, 127, 147; Masudi V, 475; Bagd. 19^b expressly *لهم الاثنا عشرية* and in the same

20 way Isfr. 13^b *وهاؤلاء يدعون الاثنا عشرية*.

The old Marracci recognized the identity of the *Kiṭṭi'iyya* with the *Ithnâ'ashariyya*. The rebuke preferred against him by de Sacy (II, 590 n. 1 = Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 83, n. 1) is without justification.

- 25 48. l. 3 ff. See I. II.'s remarks on the same subject, Text [48] p. 76⁷ ff. I. II.'s account on the Mahdi is extremely interesting and in many a detail quite novel.¹

— L. 5. The year of al-Hasan's death is unanimously given as 260. All other dates and facts of the Mahdi's life were 30 early entangled in myth and legend.

This shows itself at once in the question as to the date of his birth, which is extremely problematic. Conspicuous in its tendency is the notion that he was born on the day on which his father died, Blochet 21. It betrays itself through the explanatory 35 remark that the Mahdi has, just like Jesus, been Imam since his infancy. According to another supposition (comp.

¹ Sibb. *Imams*, remarkably enough says nothing about the twelfth Imam.

Text here, l. 7) he was born eight months after his father's [48] death, Shahr. 130". Repeatedly to be found as the year of his birth is 258, i. e., two years before his father's death, IBab.

Ithbat 44 l. 2 (read *مولد* instead of *ولد*); Ibn Zûlâk (died 387^h) in IKhall. No. 573; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. Very frequently 5 the year 255 is given, Abu'l-Maali 164; Anon. Sufi 170^a; Abulfeda II, 222; IKhall. ib.¹ See the various suppositions Shahr. 129-130.

The insinuation that the Mahdi was not born at all I have not met with outside of I. II. He repeats the same charge Ed. IV, 10 96^b: "If so, what need is there for them (the Imams), especially so for the last 180 years? (see Introduction, p. 19). For they pretend to have a lost Imam who (however) was never created, just like the fabulous griffin." Gen. Leyd. omits the Mahdi altogether, as it only records the Alides who had off-15 spring. Al-Hasan, however, is designated as Abû *Muhammed*.

The identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet which is demanded by the Mahdi traditions is regarded by the Shiites as proof of the legitimacy of the twelfth Imam.² To the same end the Prophet's kunya Abû'l-Kâsim was conferred 20 on him.³ The generally accepted Mahdi tradition demands, besides, identity in the father's name. But there are variations of this tradition which are so trimmed as to meet the special circumstances of the twelfth Mahdi, comp. IKhald. II, 144 ff.; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. 25

— L. 11 f. A more elaborate form of this anecdote see Blochet 22 (who writes *Hakimch*). The motive of the anecdote is the Shiitic tendency to pattern the image of the Mahdi after that of Jesus, whose advent at the end of time is expected by all Muhammedans. The miracle of "talking in the cradle" is 30 ascribed to Jesus, Koran 3, 41; 5, 109; 19, 30 ff.; comp. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Quran*

¹ The latter gives besides 256, which he considers correct. Anon. Sufi ib. quotes Yâfi'i's *Ta'rikk* to the effect that al-Hasan died when the Mahdi was six or five years old, which would imply 254 and 255 respectively.

² Already as-Sayyid al-Himyarî refers to such a tradition, Agh. VII, 4.

³ Zeid. Mutaz. 11¹ quotes a tradition according to which Muhammed ordered Ali to give his son his (the prophet's) name and kunya. He was referring to Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

[48] (1839), p. 47. The Sunnitic protest against the transferring of this miracle to the Mahdi found expression in an interpretation forcibly put upon the well-known ḥadīth—in itself an anti-

Shiitic protest—لا مهديّ إلا عيسى بن مريمَ “there is no Mahdi

except Jesus”¹: أَيْ لَا يَتَكَلَّمُ فِي الْمَهْدِي (الْمَهْدُ) إِلَّا عَيْسَى (read الْمَهْدُ) “that is, none except Jesus talks in the cradle (al-mahd).” See IKhald. II, 163 and 169.

— Lines 13, 15, 16. On the name or names of the Mahdi's mother see Diyarbekri, II, 288, IKhall. No. 573, who also adds
¹⁰ “Khamṭ”² (a sort of fragrant milk). Narjis is given by the authorities quoted by Blochet, p. 21. See also Anon. Sufi fol.

170^a: اُمّه اُمٌ وَلَدٍ يَقَالُ لَهَا نَرْجِسُ. On the custom of giving

the slaves pet names of this description (نَرْجِسُ “narcissus,”

لِيلَى, “lily,” خَمَطٌ see above, صَقِيلٌ “the polished one (?)”),

¹⁵ see the remark Müller, *Islam* I, 570 footnote.

[49] 49, l. 4. The *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 1308, gives the following definition of “Inspiration” (al-

إِلْهَامٌ مَعْنَى فِي الْقَلْبِ بِطَرِيقِ الْفَيْضِ أَيْ بِلَا اِكْتِسَابِ :

وَفِكْرٌ وَلَا اسْتِفَاضَةً (استفادة) بَلْ هُوَ وَارِدٌ غَيْبِيٌّ

²⁰ وَايشان موافق اند بقرامطه al-Ilhâmiyya a Ṣūfī sect called

وَدَهْرِيَه كِه اَز خَوَانْدَنِ وَاْمُوخْتَنِ قِرَانِ وَاِعْلَامِ دِيْنِي اِعْرَاضِ كَنْد.

This claim of Inspiration is the reason why the Shiites object to religious discussions, p. 16^e.

²⁵ In the same way as here and Text p. 35¹⁶ ff., I. H. expresses himself Ed. IV; 104^e: “Some of them (the Imâmiyya) when asked (to prove) the truth of their claim regarding the Imams (i. e., that the Imams are the only source of religious knowledge) take recourse to the claim of Inspiration in this matter.

¹ Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 16.

² Ed. de Slane, p. 632, has خَمَطٌ; ed. Wüstenfeld has incorrectly خَمِطٌ.

But if they arrive at this sophism,¹ then the latter is not beyond [49] reach of any one man, and their opponents are very well able to pretend that they have been informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of their claim."

A Shiitic writer of the eleventh century (Hijra) uses the following characteristic argument to prove the superiority of the Imams and scholars of the Shi'a, Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 509: "because their words are not a matter of opinion or effort, but of true knowledge. Their source is either a tradition which every one of them has received from his father, the latter¹⁰ from his own father and so on up to the Prophet, or Revelation and Inspiration, so that both small and big are equal in this respect among them. For this reason it has never been recorded of any of them that he has ever gone to a teacher, or studied under a master, or asked any question."¹⁵

— Note 5. The reading of Ed. and Codd. presupposes **ظريف** and the same word is found in Ed. Text 57¹³, 64⁸ (see also Ed. IV, 97¹⁰). It is possible to get along with the ordinary meaning of **ظريف** "clever, ingenious."

— L. 9 (note 10). I took this as an example of some monstrous (of course, imaginary) charge for which Inspiration might be invoked. See a similar charge note 9. Prof. Nöldeke (in a private communication) objects to this interpretation. He prefers to retain **من جنون** in the text and to translate "or that all of them have a piece (lit. a branch) of madness in their²⁵ heads."

— L. 13 ff. (and previously). The tone in which I. H. speaks of this charge of illegitimate birth shows that he takes it quite seriously. I have not found any reference to it elsewhere.² The concluding words of this paragraph are characteristic³⁰ of I. H.'s biting sarcasm: It is possible that you all may still be saved by becoming orthodox Muslims. But then you

¹ **الشَّعْبُ**, see p. 6 f. But perhaps **الشَّعْبُ** "narrow path" ought to be read, comp. Text p. 78-79 (repeatedly).

² One is vividly reminded of the frequently quoted sentence **מרחצת** **כולי האי שמע מניה ממזר הוא** "as he is so impudent, it is clear that he is a bastard." Comp. S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu* (Berlin 1902), pp. 188, 278.

[49] will have proved, according to your own contention, that you are all bastards.

[50] 50, l. 9 ff. Comp. I. II.'s notice (Ed. IV, 195¹³): أبو عثمان عمرو بن (بَحْر + Cod. L.) الجاحظ القصرى (البصرى) الكنانى صليبه (صليةً read) وقيل بل مولى¹ وهو تلميذ النظام واحد شيوخ المعتزلة.

Jāḥiẓ died in Baṣra in 255/869, over ninety years old, IKhall. No. 479, 58⁶; Brockelmann I, 152.² He was a pupil of an-Nazzām (p. 58⁶), whom he quotes in this passage. He himself figures as the founder of a sect bearing his name, de Boer, 53.

I. II.'s remark bearing on Jāḥiẓ is reflected in the attitude towards him of the Arabic literary critics, which is on the whole more hostile than favorable. "The style of his genius is mediocre" is the verdict of de Boer (p. 54). The Muḥam-
15 median writers, however, are ready to appreciate his literary talent and particularly his eloquence, e. g., Masudi VIII, 34; Shahr. 52; Ijī 341. But his orthodoxy is held in great suspicion, Goldziher, *Zahīriten*, p. 190. IKhall. (No. 186, p. 125), after stating that Jāḥiẓ declared Ibn Mokāffa' to be an infidel, sar-
20 castically adds: "But, as someone remarked, how could Jāḥiẓ have forgotten himself?" Still less favorably than his orthodoxy is judged his moral character. Masudi VIII, 34 says of him briefly but poignantly انصرافه مشهور. He sells his literary talent to the highest bidder and writes successively in favor of
25 the 'Abbasides, the 'Othmanides and Merwanides, ib. p. 56.³ For an instance of his unprincipled attitude see later (p. 104³⁵ ff.).

Extremely interesting is the crushing criticism of Jāḥiẓ as man and writer, by Bagd. and Isfr. I give the essential parts of Baḡdādī's remarks (fol. 69^a)⁴ as they are apt to illustrate
30 I. H.'s utterance in our passage: ذكر الجاحظية منهم (يعنى من

المعتزلة) هاؤلاء أتباع عمرو بن يحيى (sic) الجاحظ وهم الذين

¹ Comp. Kashi 38.

² Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 126, note 17 gives the erroneous date 235/849-850.

³ See Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 120.

⁴ Isfr. 37^a gives substantially the same. But the wording is quite different.

[50] اغتبروا بحُسنِ بَدَلَةِ الجاحظ في كُتُبِهِ الَّتِي بِهَا تَرْجُمَةُ تَرْوُقِ بِلَا
 مَعْنَى واسمٌ يَهْوُلُ بِلَا جِسْمٍ وَلَوْ عَرَفُوا جَهَالَاتِهِ فِي ضَلَالَاتِهِ
 لَاسْتَغْفَرُوا اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مِنْ تَسْمِيَتِهِمْ إِيَّاهُ إِنْسَانًا فَضْلًا عَنْ أَنْ
 يَنْسُبُوا إِلَيْهِ إِحْسَانًا [70^a] وَقَدْ افْتَخَرَ الْكَعْبِيُّ¹ بِالْجَاحِظِ
 5 وَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ مِنْ شِيعَةِ الْمَعْتَزِلَةِ وَافْتَخَرَ بِتَصَانِيفِهِ الْكَثِيرَةِ وَزَعَمَ
 أَنَّهُ كِنَانِيُّ مِنْ بَنِي كِنَانَةَ بْنِ خُزَيْمَةَ بْنِ مُدْرِكَةَ بْنِ الْيَاسِ بْنِ
 مُضَرَ فَيُقَالُ لَهُ إِنَّ كَانَ كِنَانِيًّا كَمَا زَعَمَتْ فَلِمَ صَنَفَتْ (صَنَّفَ read)
 كِتَابَ مَفَاخِرِ الْقَحْطَانِيَّةِ عَلَى الْكِنَانِيَّةِ وَسَائِرِ الْعَدْنَانِيَّةِ وَإِنْ
 كَانَ عَرَبِيًّا فَلِمَ صَنَّفَ كِتَابَ فَضْلِ الْمَوَالِي عَلَى الْعَرَبِ وَأَمَّا
 10 كُتُبُهُ الْمُرْخَرَفَةُ فَأَصْنَأَفُ مِنْهَا كِتَابُهُ فِي حَيْلِ اللَّصُوصِ وَقَدْ عَلَّمَ
 بِهَا الْفَسَقَةَ وَجَوَهَ السَّرِيعَةَ وَمِنْهَا كِتَابُهُ فِي عَشْرِ الصَّنَاعَاتِ وَقَدْ
 أَفْسَدَ بِهَا عَلَى التِّجَارِ سِلْعَهُمْ وَمِنْهَا كِتَابُهُ فِي النِّوَامِيسِ وَهُوَ
 ذَرِيعَةٌ لِلْمُحْتَالِينَ يَحْتَلِبُونَ بِهَا وَدَائِعَ النَّاسِ وَأُمُومَهُمْ وَمِنْهُمْ
 كِتَابُهُ فِي الْفَتْيَا وَهُوَ مَشْحُونٌ بِطَعْنِ أَسْتَاذِهِ النَّظَّامِ عَلَى أَعْلَامِ
 15 الْحِكَايَةِ وَمِنْهَا كُتُبُهُ فِي الْقَحَابِ وَالْكِلَابِ وَاللَّاطَةِ وَفِي حَيْلِ
 الْمُكِيدِينَ² وَمَعَانِي هَذِهِ الْكُتُبِ لَأَثَقَةٌ بِهِ وَبَصْنَعَتُهُ وَأُسْرَتُهُ وَمِنْهَا
 كِتَابُ طِبَائِعِ الْحَيَوَانِ³ وَقَدْ سَلَحَ فِيهِ مَعَانِي كِتَابِ الْحَيَوَانِ
 لِأَرْسُوطَالَيْسَ وَضَمَّنَ إِلَيْهِ مَا ذَكَرَهُ الْمَدَائِنِيُّ مِنْ حِكْمِ الْعَرَبِ
 وَأَشْعَارِهَا فِي مَنَافِعِ الْحَيَوَانَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ نَحَنَ الْكِتَابَ بِمِنَازِرَةِ بَيْنِ

¹ See Makr. 348^a.

² Is this identical with his Kitāb al-Bukhalā?

³ Isfr. declares it to be his most important (أَعْلَى) work.

الكلب والديك¹ والاشتغال بمثل هذه المناظرة تضييع للوقت [50]
[70^b] بالمقت ومن افتخر بالجاحظ سلمناه اليه وقول اهل

السنة في الجاحظ كقول الشاعر فيه [الكامل]
لَوْ يُمْسَحُ الْخَنْزِيرُ مَسْحًا ثَانِيًا * مَا كَانَ إِلَّا دُونَ قُبْحِ الْجَاحِظِ²

رَجُلٌ يَنْوُبُ عَنِ الْحَيِّمِ بِنَفْسِهِ * وَهُوَ الْقَدَى فِي كُلِّ طَرَفٍ لَاحِظٌ³

— L. 14. Abū Ishāq Ibrahim b. Sayyār an-Nazzām, a pupil of Abū'l-Huḍeīl³ (p. 66³¹) and teacher of al-Jāhiz, was one of the most respected leaders of the Mu'tazila, "noteworthy as a man and a thinker," de Boer 51. He flourished about 221^h, Kremer,¹⁰ *Ideen* 31; Shahr. 18, 37, 39 ff.; Iji 337 ff.; Makr. 346¹². He leaned towards Shiism ("Rafī"), Shahr. 39; Iji 338. Bagd.

49^a protests against the interpretation of his name as نَظَّامٌ
للکلام المنثور والشعر الموزون and explains that he was called
so because كان ينظم الخرز في سوق البصرة.

15 — Ibidem. A man by the name of Bishr b. Khālid is otherwise unknown. But the context and the additional remark of Codd. L. Br. (note 8) strongly suggest that he is identical with the highly respected Mu'tazila-Sheikh Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir, the founder of the Bishriyya sect. He is mentioned together with²⁰ an-Nazzām, Shahr. 18; Zeid. Mutaz. 30; comp. Shahr. 44; Iji 338 and others. I. H., too, frequently refers to him in his *Milal*. Ed. III, 126¹⁸, I. H. mentions an-Nazzām, Abū'l-Huḍeīl, Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and al-Jubbā'i as remarkable for their speculative and argumentative powers.

25 I. H.'s (or the copyist's) mistake in our passage may perhaps be explained by assuming that Bishr's kunya was Abū Khālid. For a similar mistake see p. 59⁷.

According to Zeid. Mutaz., Bishr was imprisoned by Rashīd on the charge of being a Shiite (Rāfiḍī). But he denied it in
30 one of his poems.

¹ See van Vloten, *Worgers* 59, n. 16.

² Jāhiz was frightfully ugly, Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, popular edition, Leipzig 1901, p. 98.

³ Zeid. Mutaz. p. 25 ult., 27.

— L. 15. I. H. consistently designates this Muhammed as [50] the son of Ja'far. All other sources call him "b. an-Nu'mân," *Fih'r.* 176; Bagd. and Isfr. frequently; Tusy No. 698; Shahr. 142; Iji 347; Makr. 348²⁴, 353²⁵; IKhall. No. 166; *Kāmūs* s.v.

الطابق, *Lubb al-Lubāb* s. v. الشيطاني.—*Agh.* VII 9⁷ and 5 Kashi 122, 123 call him Muh. b. *Ali* b. an-Nu'mân. His kunya was Abū Ja'far (*Fih'r.* 176; Shahr. 142; Kashi ib., Goldziher, *Shi'a* 509¹⁹), hence probably the mistake. See p. 58²².

His nickname was Sheitān at-Tāḡ (see the sources quoted above), which, according to *Kāmūs*, signifies "the devil of at-10 Tāḡ, a citadel in Ṭabaristān."²¹ The Shiites, however, call him Mu'min at-Tāḡ, Tusy ib.; Kashi 123. The sect founded by him is generally called Sheitāniyya. Shahr. calls it Nu'māniyya, (comp. Goldziher in ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2). He was an adherent of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (died 146), who valued him highly, Kashi 122. He had a dispute with as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī about the Imamate and came out victorious, *Agh.* ib.

His ready wit is attested in several instances quoted by Tusy and Kashi.

His book on the Imamate referred to on l. 17 is duly recorded 20 by *Fih'r.* and Tusy.

— L. 18. This verse plays a prominent part in the polemics between Shiites and Sunnites. Abū Ja'far at-Tūsī, the author of the List of Shy'ah books, wrote a كتاب التَّقْصُّصِ عَلَى ابْنِ شاذان, p. 355, No. 771. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam 25 (p. 65¹¹) is the author of a كتاب الرَّدِّ عَلَى أَصْحَابِ اثْنَيْنِ by which most probably our verse is meant. The Caliph al-Ma'mūn anxiously endeavors to refute the consequences to be drawn from this verse in a discussion with a Sunnite, *Ikd* II.²

¹ Kashi explains the name in a very artificial manner. He was once shown a Dirhem and he said: سُبُّوقُ "it is forged" فَقَالُوا مَا هُوَ إِلَّا شَيْطَانُ الطَّاقِ.—Comp. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 245 note: "Quant au surnom Satan du portique, je n'en ai trouvé l'explication nulle part." Correct ibidem Hishām b. al-Ḥakam for Hicham b. Malek.

² I have unfortunately lost the reference to the page.

[50] I. H., too, lays great stress on this verse as proving the legitimacy of Abū Bekr's Imamate, Ed. IV, 144²¹ ff.

[51] 51, l. 1. The objection appears ridiculous in his eyes because in his belief the verse is an interpolation of the Aṣḥāb, see 5 p. 61 f.

— L. 3. His full name is Ali b. Ismā'il b. Mitham¹ at-Tammār (see the references later), but he is frequently called Ali b. Mitham, so here and Text p. 75²⁴, Bagd. 21^{b, 2}. The variant **هَيْثَم** (instead of **مَيْثَم**) occurs frequently, see Text p. 75, note 10 12; Masudi VI, 369; Tab. (in the variants to the passages quoted below n. 1); Makr. 351²² (de Sacy II, 589 has, however, Maitham). The reading and pronunciation Mitham is confirmed by Bagd. See also *Fihrr.* 174 note 4. Instead of at-Tammār, Fihrist gives at-Tayyār.³ The by-name aṣ-Ṣābūnī (the soap boiler) is not 15 found elsewhere.

His grandfather Mitham at-Tammār was an esteemed follower of Ali, *Fihrr.* ib.; Tusy p. 212, No. 458; Kashi (in a separate article) 53–58. Makr. 351²⁴ (=de Sacy II, 589) erroneously refers this adherence to Ali b. Ismā'il himself.—Ali was by 20 origin from Kufa and was a client of the Banū Asad, but he lived in Basra. He participated in conjunction with those named Text p. 75²² in a discussion in the Majlis of the Barmekide vizier Yahya, Masudi VI, 369. He had a dispute with Abū'l-Hudail and an-Nazzām, Tusy ib.

25 He is regarded as the originator of the Imamite doctrine, Masudi, *Fihrr.*, Tusy, Makr. (=de Sacy). Bagd 21^b: **من شيوخ الرافضة**. In spite of it, he is reported to have been moderate in the denunciation of Ali's opponents, see Text p. 79²¹; comp. Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 80, 82.

30 He is in all probability identical with Ali b. Ismā'il, who gave the Mūsawīyya the nickname Mamtūra, p. 40¹⁹.

¹ Tab. III, 249¹³, 254¹⁷, 288¹ inserts between Ismā'il and Mitham the name Ṣāliḥ. See, however, ib. 288 note a.

² Kashi 170 calls him repeatedly **ابن ميثم**, also **علي بن اسمعيل الميثمي**. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 510⁶ **الهَيْثَمِي** (cf. ib. n. 5).

³ There is one **الطيّار** mentioned Kashi 176³ among the intimates of Ja'far as-Ṣādik who may be identical with him. Ja'far alludes to the meaning of the name (179³), so that a mere copyist's error is out of the question.

— L. 11. Perhaps the reason for it is that the Rawâfiḍ have [51] no hesitation to change their minds, as they attribute the same (see on the Badâ doctrine, p. 72^e) to God.

— L. 14. The belief in “tabdil” is, properly considered, the basis of Shiitic doctrine. It accounts for the lack of the 5 Prophet’s written announcement regarding the succession of Ali and justifies the distrust toward the bearers of the Sunna, which again is the starting point for a complete remodelling of Islam. Isfr. 14^b ably summarizes the far-reaching consequences

of this belief: وَأَعْلَمَ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ مَنْ ذَكَرْنَاهُمْ مِنْ فِرَقِ الْإِمَامِيَّةِ 10

مُتَّفِقُونَ عَلَى تَكْفِيرِ الْحَكَايَةِ وَيَدَّعُونَ أَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ قَدْ غُيِّرَ عَمَّا

كَانَ وَوَقَعَتْ فِيهِ الزِّيَادَةُ وَالنَّقْصَانُ مِنْ قِبَلِ الْحَكَايَةِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ

أَنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ فِيهِ النَّصُّ عَلَى إِمَامَةٍ عَلَى نَاسِقِطَتِهِ الْحَكَايَةُ عَنْهُ

[15^a] وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا اعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الْقُرْآنِ الْآنَ وَلَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ

الْأَخْبَارِ الْمَرْوِيَّةِ عَنِ الْمُصْطَفَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا 15

اعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الشَّرِيعَةِ الَّتِي فِي أَيْدِي الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَيَنْتَظِرُونَ إِمَامًا

يَسْمُونَهُ الْمَهْدِيَّ يَخْرُجُ وَيَعْلَمُهُمُ الشَّرِيعَةَ وَلَيْسُوا فِي الْحَالِ عَلَى

شَيْءٍ مِنَ الدِّينِ وَلَيْسَ مَقْصُودُهُمْ مِنْ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ تَحْقِيقَ الْكَلَامِ

فِي الْإِمَامَةِ وَلَكِنْ مَقْصُودُهُمْ إِسْقَاطُ كَلْفَةِ تَكْلِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ عَنْ

أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَوَسَّعُوا فِي اسْتِحْلَالِ الْحَرَّمَاتِ الشَّرْعِيَّةِ وَيَعْتَذِرُوا 20

عِنْدَ الْعَوَامِّ بِمَا يَدَّعُونَهُ مِنْ تَحْرِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَتَغْيِيرِ الْقُرْآنِ مِنْ

عِنْدِ الْحَكَايَةِ وَلَا مَرِيدَ عَلَى هَذَا النُّوعِ مِنَ الْكُفْرِ إِذْ لَا بَقَاءَ فِيهِ

عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنَ الدِّينِ .

More comprehensively, and, as is to be expected, from a higher point of view does I. H. deal with this problem. Hav- 25 ing proved that the Gospels had been interpolated, I. H. (Ed. II, 76^{ff.}) quotes two Christian counter-arguments which he tries elaborately to refute. The first is that the Caliph Othman removed numerous readings from the Koran, and the other

[51] "that the Rawâfîd maintain that the Companions of your Prophet altered the Koran by way of omissions and additions." The first objection I. H. discards briefly, though somewhat superficially, by pointing out that in the time of Othman the
 5 Koran text was already so wide-spread and so firmly established, that the Caliph *could* not, even if he would, change it.¹ "As for their argument regarding the Rawâfîd and their contention that the Koran readings were interpolated, the Rawâfîd do not belong to the Muslims. They consist of a number of sects, the
 10 first of which arose twenty-five years after the Prophet's death. It was originally the response of some people abandoned by Allah to the call of those who beguiled Islam,² a party which followed the course of the Jews and Christians as regards falsehood and heresy. They are divided into various sections. The most
 15 extravagant of them assume the divinity of Ali b. Abî Tâlib and of a number of people besides him. The least extravagant of them believe that the sun was twice turned backwards for Ali.³ How can one be indignant over lies coming from people whose lowest rank in lying is such (as described)?" He then pro-
 20 ceeds elaborately to refute this charge. He cleverly beats the Rawâfîd with their own weapons by pointing (Ed. II, 80¹⁶) to the fact that Ali himself, "who according to most of them is a god, a creator, and, according to some of them, a prophet endowed with speech, while in the opinion of the rest he is an
 25 infallible Imam, the obedience to whom is a religious command imposed by Law," did not object to the Koran in its present shape and, while Caliph, did not fight the interpolators, which would have been his sacred duty. "Thus the mendacity of the Rawâfîd becomes evident, and praise be unto Allah, the Lord
 30 of (all) Created Beings!"

A brief reference to the same subject is contained Ed. IV, 146¹³: "unless the Rawâfîd fall back on ignoring the Koran and (assuming) omissions and additions in it. This is something whereby becomes evident their impudence, ignorance and
 35 stupidity."

A thorough discussion of the whole question and a refutation of the charges raised as well by modern scholars can be found in Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 217 ff. See also Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111 ff.

¹ Ed. II, 78².

² See p. 16, n. 2.

³ See p. 68.

—L. 17. On Abû'l-Kâsim Ali Du'l-Majdein 'Ilm al-Hudâ [51] al-Murtaḍâ, the Naḳīb of the Shiites, 355/966-436/1044, see Tusy, No. 472, p. 218; IKhall., No. 454. His negative attitude towards the "tabdīl" doctrine is perhaps implied in Tusy's remark *وله مسائل كثيرة في نَصرة الرواية*. His genealogy appears ⁵ both in Ed. and Codd. in mutilated shape. I have restored it with the help of Gen. Leyd., Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* Y 32, and Tusy. IKhall. (and following him, Brockelmann I, 404) omits Mûsa between Muhammed and Ibrâhîm.

—Note 12. "Better to be translated: 'yet at the same time 10 he openly and publicly declared himself a Mu'tazilite.' (The same in Text l. 20.) Otherwise *منهم* or *عنهم* could not be missing." (Nöldeke.)

—L. 21 f. I could find nothing bearing on Abû Ya'la. As a possibility I would suggest his identity with aṭ-Ṭusî, the ¹⁵ author of the frequently quoted List of Shy'ah books. He calls himself a pupil of Ali al-Murtaḍâ (List. p. 218, No. 472). He is counted Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Imâmiyya. A catalogue of his own writings, List, p. 285, No. 620.—*سبلان* as a proper name occurs Fih. 180°. The variant *ميلاد* seems ²⁰ much easier. But *ميلاد* designates the *date*, not, as we expect here, the *place* of birth.

52, l. 1. I have not been able to identify this Abû'l-Kâsim. [52]

—L. 5 f. The belief in Transmigration is not characteristic of the Keisâniyya, but is rather, as I. H. himself points out ²⁵ (Ed. IV, 198¹³), a logical consequence of the Mu'tazilite doctrine of Divine Justice which necessitates an exact retribution after death.¹ This belief, however, is attributed to several men known as Keisânites, so to as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî (in our passage),² Kuthayyir (p. 26²⁷), 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya (p. 44¹¹), ³⁰ Abû Muslim, (p. 64¹⁰).—Makr. 354⁹ mentions a special sect "Tanâsukhiyya."

On the relation between Tanâsukh and Raj'a, see p. 26 f.

See also next note.

¹ See Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff.

² Dahabî, *Ta'rîkh al-Islâm*, vol. VII (MS. Strassburg, not paginated) in the biography of as-Sayyid, quotes I. H. as authority for the assumption that as-Sayyid shared this belief.

[52] —L. 8 ff. The peculiar procedure described in this paragraph is the outcome of the belief in Transmigration. I. H.'s own expositions on the subject of Tanāsukh (Ed. IV, 90¹⁴ ff. in a special chapter) are apt to illustrate and explain our passage.
 5 “Those¹ that believe in the Transmigration of Souls are divided into two sections: one section holds that the souls on leaving the bodies are transferred to other bodies which² are different from the kind of bodies they had left. This is the belief of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it³ [V + the pupil of an-Nazzām]⁴, of Aḥmad b. 10 Nānās,⁵ his pupil [V.: the pupil of Ibn Ḥā'it], of Abū Muslim of Khorāsān, of Muhammed b. Zakariyā ar-Rāzī, the physician,⁶ who expressly advocates this (doctrine) in his book entitled “al-‘Ilm al-Ilāhī.” This is also the belief of the Carmathians [V + the *Keisāniyya* and some of the *Rāfiḍa*] . . . These peo-
 15 ple are of the opinion that the Transmigration of Souls takes place in the form of Punishment and Reward. They say: the soul of the sinner who has made himself guilty of bad actions is transferred to the bodies of repulsive animals⁷ which wallow in all kinds of filth, which are forced to work, are inflicted with
 20 pain, and are used for slaughtering.” See also Ed. IV, 198⁷ ff.

— Note 5. The addition of L. Br. is not justified. The hatred of the Rawāfiḍ concentrates itself on Abū Bekr and ‘Omar. See the interesting remark *Milal* V, 60⁶ فابو بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما تعاديهما الرافضة وعثمان وعلى تعاديهما الخوارج.

25 An instance of the intense hatred of the Shiites towards the “two Sheikhs” which is as curious as it is typical is quoted
 ومن هفواتهم الحنثة ما رَوَّه في معتبرات كُتِبَ : Mirza fol. 52^b:

¹ I add a few important variants from Cod. V (50^v), L siding with Ed.

² Ed. I 90¹⁶ strike out الى اجساد اخر من غير نوع . وان .
 الاجساد.

³ Ed. حابط, see p. 10¹¹.

⁴ See p. 58⁸.

⁵ V. قابوس. p. 10¹⁹ 22.

⁶ See de Boer, p. 77 ff.

⁷ The following differently worded in V.

⁸ = L. I, 42⁶. I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

[52] أَحَادِيثُهُمْ عَنِ الصَّادِقِ^١ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ أَنَّ أَحَدًا مِنْ تَبَعِ
 الْأَحْوَلِ^٢ قَالَ كُنْتُ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ فَجَاءَ
 وَاحِدٌ (أَحَدٌ) (read أَحَدٌ) مِنَ الْخَيَّاطِينَ [53^١] الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يَتَشَبَّهُونَهُ
 وَبَيْدَهُ قَمِيصَانِ فَقَالَ يَا ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ خِطْتُ وَاحِدًا (sic) مِنْهُمَا
 وَبِكُلِّ خَيْطَةٍ رَحَدْتُ رَبَّ الْأَرْبَابِ وَخِطْتُ الْآخَرَ وَلَعَنْتُ بِكُلِّ مِنْهَا
 عُمرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ ثُمَّ نَذَرْتُ لَكَ مَا أَحَبَّتَ مِنْهُمَا فَمَا نُحِبُّهُ خُذْهُ
 وَمَا لَا نُحِبُّهُ رَبَّنَا قَالَ فَقَالَ الصَّادِقُ أَحَبُّ مَا تَمَّ بَلَعْنِ عَمْرٍ وَأَرَدَ
 إِلَيْكَ الَّذِي خِيطَ بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ الْأكْبَرِ.

The story is not impossible. At any rate: se non e vero . . .

— L. 17. On Hishām see also Text p. 74²² ff., 75²².—Hishām b. al-Hakam Abū Muhammed al-Aḥwal ar-Rāfiḍī (al-Harrār, Masudi VII, 231) was born in Wāsīt (Kashi 165), but lived in Kufa as a client of the Banū Asad (Text 52, note 10), or of the Banū Kinda (Kashi; Fihrist, p. 355, No. 771). He moved to Bagdad³ in 199 and is said to have died in the same year.⁴ 15 He belonged to the intimate circle of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar (p. 39¹⁵), but he had also, when still a young man (Kashi 167), come in contact with Jaʿfar (Fihrist, Tusy), who converted him from his heresies to the orthodox Imamitic belief (Kashi). In spite of the difference in opinion, he held intimate intercourse with²⁰ ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd, the founder of the Kharijite sect Ibāḍiyya, Masudi V, 343.

He was considered an authority on the Imamate question. When a Syrian once came to Jaʿfar and insisted, among other things, on having an argument about the Imamate, he was²⁵ referred to Hishām (Kashi 179). The theory of the Imamate is the central point of his doctrine. He compared the Imamate

¹ Jaʿfar as-Ṣādiq.

² This either refers to Sheiṭān at-Tāḡ (p. 59³) or to Hishām b. al-Hakam, this page, l. 11. They both bore the nickname al-Aḥwal.

³ Kashi quotes an exact topographical description of his Bagdad residence by an eye-witness.

⁴ According to Kashi, he died in Kufa twenty years earlier, 179, during the reign of ar-Rashīd. But this can scarcely be correct, as he was a young man during Jaʿfar's (died 146) lifetime. See the following.

[52] with the heart in the human body, Masudi VII, 234, 236. See his pretty and elaborate comparison of the limbs with the Imamate, Kashi 176.¹ He belonged to the Kitti'iyya, who admitted Mûsa b. Ja'far's death, p. 51¹⁷.

⁵ In the domain of Kalâm, Hishâm occupied a prominent position. He was the representative of a grossly anthropomorphic doctrine and, in conjunction with Hishâm al-Juwâliki (p. 132³⁶), was considered the founder of the Hishâmiyya sect,² Bagd. 19^b, 125^a; Isfr. 14^a, 15^a, 54^b; Shahr. 18, 60, 76, 141 ff.; Iji 346.

— L. 18. See Text 75²⁴. Abû Ali is called the pupil or adherent (sâhib) of Hishâm in the other sources as well. His by-name is uncertain; see the variants p. 52 note 12 and 75 note 13. Masudi VI, 369 has السكال; Shahr. 145 شكال, the same

¹⁵ Fih. 176 (var. سكال). I have adopted the reading of L Text 75²⁴: "ash-Shakkâk," "the sceptic." Masudi expressly designates him as Imamite. Shahr. counts him among the writers of the Imâmiyya. The title of his book recorded Fih.

ib. points to the same thing: كتاب على مَنْ أَبِي وَجوب الإمامة بالذن.

²⁰

— L. 19. Comp. the discussion of this question Ed. II, 128. An elaborate account of Hishâm's theory of Divine Knowledge is given Bagd. 20^b and Shahr. 59 ff. It became popular not only with Shiites, e. g., the Sheitâniyya (p. 59¹⁸), Isfr. 54^b; Shahr. ²⁵ 142; Iji 347; Makr. 353; or Zurâra b. A'yûn (Shahr., Makr.), but also with Mu'tazilites, the famous al-Jubbâ'i approving of it (Shahr. 59).

[53] 53. l. 1. "Abû'l-Hudêil b. Makhûl al-'Allâf,³ a client of the 'Abd al-Keis of Basra, one of the leaders and foremost men ³⁰ of the Mu'tazila" (Ed. IV, 192¹¹), died about 235 (Shahr. 37; IKhall. No. 617⁴; Zeid. Mutaz. 28) at an extremely old age

¹ Ja'far is so delighted with his expositions that he exclaims

هذا مكتوب في خُفِّ ابراهيم وموسى ib. 177. [Cf. I Cor. 12, 12 ff.]

² Makr. 348² calls it also al-Hakamiyya, after the name of his father (comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2).

³ Zeid. Mutaz. 25 كان يلقَّب بالعلَّاف لأنَّ داره بالبصرة كانت في العلَّافين.

⁴ IKhall. gives besides 226 and 227. Iji 336 has erroneously 135.

(Zeid. Mutaz.).—He was an opponent of anthropomorphism. [53]
On his doctrines see de Boer 49 ff.

On his disputes with Hishâm b. al-Hakam see the sources quoted p. 66, ll. 12–13, espec. Shahr. 18, 141. According to Zeid. Mutaz. 26 and somewhat in contradiction with 53 note 1 and 5 this page, l. 27, Abû'l-Hudeil, while on a pilgrimage to Mekka, paid a visit to *Kufa* and there met Hishâm and other opponents, with whom he victoriously argued about subtle Kalâm matters.

— L. 2. This utterance is attributed—erroneously as Makr. 348⁵ points out—to Muḳâtil b. Suleimân (p. 11²⁰), see also 10 Shahr. 141.—The purport of this utterance is rather obscure, in spite of the following two notices which sound more intelligible. Bagd. 20⁹: وحكى بعضهم عن هشام انه قال في معبوده انه سبعة أشبار بشبر نفسه كأن قاسه على الانسان لأن كل انسان في الغالب من العادة سبعة اشبار بشبر نفسه. Similarly 15 Mirza fol. 80⁶ from Imâm ar-Râzi's (died 606/1209) *Milal wa'n-Nihâl* وبعاقيب رأي او بدان قرار گرفت كه هفت بدست است *وغيركه اين مقدار از همه مقدارها معتدلتريست*. Accordingly, the most proportionate human figure is that whose height ("length," 53 note 2) is seven times the size of its own "span," 20 and Hishâm, who was excessively anthropomorphic (p. 66⁹), conceived God as a human figure of the most proportionate size. But "span" (*shibr*) is too large in this connection. Perhaps it signifies here a smaller measure (see Dozy sub voce).

Interesting and characteristic of Hishâm's doctrine is the 25 notice Bagd. 20⁹: وذكر ابو الهذيل في بعض كتبه انه لقي هشام بن الحكم بمكة عند جبل ابي قبيس فسأله ايها اكبر معبوده ام هذا الجبل قال فأشار الى ان الجبل يوفي عليه تعالى (أي add)

ان الجبل اعظم منه. "Hishâm indicated that the mountain towered above Him the Exalted, i. e. (he meant to say) that 30 the mountain was bigger than God."

— L. 3. The reading adopted in the text is found Text p. 75²³ and Bagd. 124⁴ (with a soft ح under the line). الجوارى occurs frequently, see the variants 53 n. 4 and 75 n. 11, Shahr.

[53] 77 (=Haarbr. 115); Wolff, *Drusen* 48. الجواربتي is found Shahr. 143 (Haarbr. 215); Isfr. 55^a and is also reflected in the reading of Ed. in our text, note 4.—On his extravagantly anthropomorphic doctrines see the sources just quoted, espec. Shahr. 143.

— L. 6. I. H. refers twice to the same belief in his *Milal*. Ed. II, 78^s: “Those of them (the Shiites) who are the least extravagant (still) believe that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” Ed. V, 3²², in discussing the question whether miracles can be performed by non-prophets, he refers to “the claim of the Rawâfiḍ that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” He quotes as illustration a poem of as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī referring to the turning back of the sun, in order to enable Ali to recite the prescribed prayer (see later), and to the same miracle happening a second time—if the reading be correct—in Babylon (‘Irāk).¹ He further quotes a poem by Ḥabīb b. Aus (Abū Tamām, died 231) of which the last verse reads thus: “By Allah, I do not know whether Ali has appeared to us and the sun has been turned back for him, or whether Joshua has been among the people.” He points out, however, that the 20 verse in this form is a forgery and that the correct reading offers something entirely different.²

¹ The quotation from as-Sayyid which is found in L. II, 166^v is omitted in Ed. and runs as follows:

[الكامل]

رَدَّتْ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ حِينَ يَفُوتُهُ * وَقَتُ الصَّلَاةِ وَقَدْ دَنَتْ لِلْمَغْرِبِ
حَتَّى يُلْحِقَ نُورُهَا فِي وَقْتِهَا * لِلْعَصْرِ ثُمَّ هَوَتْ هَوَى الْكَوَاكِبِ
(L. الكوكب)
وَعَلَيْهِ نَدَّتْ رَدَّتْ بَبَايِدَ مَرَّةً * أُخْرَى وَمَا رَدَّتْ بِخَلْقِ مَغْرِبِ
(L. unp.)

I am not certain as to the meaning of بِخَلْقِ (sic) مغرب. In L follows a rhymed refutation by Ibn Ḥazm which is missing in Ed. The text is too doubtful to allow of a reproduction.

² قال ابو محمد وانما الرواية الصحيحة

فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَدْرِي أَحْلَامُ نَائِمٍ * أَلَمَتْ بِنَاكَانَ فِي الْقَوْمِ يُرْشَعُ

This remark is missing in Ed. In the second verse L offers the undoubtedly correct reading وانطوى لبهجتها ثوب السماء الجزع.

The miracle of the standstill of the sun is reported in connection with Ali in two cases. In one case the sun halted to enable Ali to complete the conquest of a besieged city. The Sunnites claim this miracle for the Prophet (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331 and at the end of this note). In the other 5 Muhammed bids the sun to rise again to enable the belated Ali to recite the afternoon prayer, Goldziher *ib.*, and note 9. It seems that official Shiitic tradition takes cognizance merely of the latter case. At least it is the only one which figures as "the Ḥadīth of the Turning back of the Sun" recorded by 10 Sibṭ, *Imams* fol. 32^a. I reproduce the chapter in extenso as it gives an exhaustive presentation of the subject and contains, besides, numerous points of interest.

حديث رَدَّ الشمس، أنا أبو القاسم عبد الحُسن بن عبد الله
 ابن أحمد الطوسي قال أخبرني والِدِي عبد الله بن أحمد¹⁵
 الطوسي قال أخبرنا أبو الحسين بن النقر أخبرنا ابن خبابة
 بنا البَغَوِي ثنا طالوت بن عباد بن إبراهيم بن الحسن عن
 فاطمة بنت الحسين عن أَسْمَاء بنت عُمَيْس قالت كان رأس رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في جُحْر على عليه السلام وهو يُوحِي¹⁶
 إليه فلم يصلِّ العصرَ حتى غربت الشمس فقال رسول الله صلى²⁰
 الله عليه اللهم إِنَّه كان في طاعتك وطاعة رسولك فَأَرَدْتُ عليه
 الشمسَ فَرَدَّهَا الله له وقد ضَعَفَ قومٌ هذا الحديثَ وذكره
 جدِّي¹ في كتاب الموضوعات وقال في إِسْناده جماعةٌ ضَعَفَاءُ
 وسأهم ثم قال وصلوة العصر صارت قِضَاءً³ ولا يُفيد رجوعَ
 الشمس [32^b] قلت قد حكى القاضي عِيَّاضُ⁴ في كتاب الشِّفا²⁵

¹ Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj al-Jauzī, died 597/1200, Brockelmann I, 500.

² Here begins the quotation.

³ See the definition given by Ta'rifāt in Freytag's *Lexicon* sub voce.

⁴ Died 544/1149, Brockelmann, I, 369.

بتعريف حُقُوقِ الْمُصْطَفَى عَنْ الطَّحَاوَى¹ أَنَّهُ ذَكَرَهُ فِي شَرْحِ [53] مُشْكِلِ الْحَدِيثِ وَقَالَ رَوَى عَنْ طَرِيقَيْنِ صَحِيحَيْنِ عَنْ أَسْمَاءَ بِنْتِ عَمِيْسٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ رَأْسُهُ فِي حُجْرٍ عَلَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ يُوحَى إِلَيْهِ وَذَكَرَتْهُ وَقَتَهُ (وفيه Ms.) فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَصَلَّيْتَ الْعَصْرَ فَقَالَ لَا فَقَالَ² رَسُولُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّهُ كَانَ فِي طَاعَتِكَ وَطَاعَةِ رَسُولِكَ فَأَرَدْتُ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسَ قَالَتْ أَسْمَاءُ فَرَأَيْتُهَا طَلَعَتْ بَعْدَ مَا غَرَبَتْ وَوَقَفْتُ عَلَى رُؤْسِ الْجِبَالِ وَذَلِكَ بِالصَّهْبَاءِ³ فِي خَيْبَرَ قَالَ الطَّحَاوَى وَهَاتَانِ الرَّوَايَتَانِ ثَابِتَتَانِ وَرَوَاهُمَا ثِقَاتٌ قَالَ الطَّحَاوَى كَانَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ صَالِحٍ يَقُولُ لَا يَنْبَغِي لِمَنْ سَبِيلُهُ الْعِلْمُ التَّخَلُّفُ عَنْ حَدِيثِ¹⁰ أَسْمَاءَ لِأَنَّهُ مِنْ عِلَامَاتِ النَّبَوَّةِ وَقَوْلُهُ صَارَتْ صَلَوةُ الْعَصْرِ قَضَاءً قُلْتُ إِذَا كَانَ رَجُوعُ الشَّمْسِ مِنْ عِلَامَاتِ صَحَّةِ نَبَوَّةِ نَبِيِّنَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَكَذَا تَصِيرُ صَلَاةُ الْعَصْرِ أَدَاءً جُكْمًا لِأَنَّ الْقَضَاءَ يَحْكِي الْفَائِتَ وَالْعَجَبُ مِنْ هَذَا وَقَدْ ثَبَتَ فِي الصَّحِيحِ أَنَّ الشَّمْسَ حُبِسَتْ لِيُوشَعَ بْنِ نُونٍ وَلَا يَخْلُو إِمَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ ذَلِكَ مُعْجَزَةً¹⁵ لِمُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ [33^a] أَوْ لِيُوشَعَ فَإِنَّ كَانَ لِمُوسَى فَنَبِيِّنَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ وَعَلَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ اقْتَرَبَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ يُوشَعَ إِلَى مُوسَى وَأَنْ كَانَ مُعْجَزَةً لِيُوشَعَ فَلَا خِلَافَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ يُوشَعَ لِأَنَّ أَذْنَى أَحْوَالِهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ كَوَاحِدِ (من الانبياء add) وَقَدْ قَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ أُمْتِي كَأَنْبِيَاءِ²⁰

¹ Died 321/933, Brock., I, 173.

² The author of *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos* (wrote about 942/1535), ed. van den Ham, Leyden 1890, p. 243, quotes this hadith almost verbatim.

[53] بنى اسرائيل فعلم ان الحديث ثابت، وفي الباب حكاية عجيبة⁵
 حكاها جماعة من مشايخنا قالوا جلس ابو منصور المظفر
 ابن اردشير العبادي الواعظ¹ بالتاجية مدرسة بباب ابرز ببغداد
 بعد العصر وذكر حديث رَدَّتِ الشمسُ وشرع في فضائل اهل البيت
 5 فنشأت سحابة غطت الشمس حتى ظن الناس انها قد غابت
 فقام ابو منصور على المنبر قائمًا وأوصى الى الشمس وارتجل في الحال
 وقال [الكامل]

لا تغربى يا شمس حين ينتهى * مدحى لآل المصطفى ولنجله
 وأثنى عنادك إن أردت ثناءهم * أنسيت إذ كان الوقوف لأجله
 10 إن كان للمولى وقوفك فليكن * هذا الوقوف لحيله ولرجله
 وطلعت الشمس فلا يدري ما دومي² عليه من الأموال والبثاث.

In conclusion follows a lengthy poem bearing on this hadith by Ibn 'Abbād called Kāfi'l-Kufāt (died 385).

It is clear from this account that the legend wavers between the standstill of the sun (see the legend quoted at the beginning; 15 the verses just quoted speak in the same way of "Wuḳūf") and its rising again, the latter being represented in the hadith attributed to Asmā. The two forms of the legend bear the same relation to one another as the solar miracle of Joshua (Joshua 10, 13) to the one under Hezekiah (II Kings 20, 11; 20 Is. 38, 8).

The hadith owes its origin to the Shiitic tendency to pattern the biography of Ali, the "waṣī" (legatee, cf. Introd. p. 22) of Muhammed, after Joshua, the waṣī of Moses. See another instance of this tendency, Shahr. 132. I believe for this reason 25 that the miracle referred to p. 69^d is originally a Shiitic invention and its transfer to Muhammed a polemical attempt on the part of the Sunnites.

¹ Died 547^b.

² Or دومي. I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this sentence.

[53] — L. 9. I am not certain as to the meaning of this line. Does the reference to the nearness of age (see note 9) imply a reproach against Asmâ, the author of the hadith? I cannot make out what the reference to the multitude of people, which 5 is missing in L. Br., is meant to convey here.

— L. 12. The doctrine of Badâ (i. e. "pleasing": if anything pleases God, he may change a previous decision) presupposes the belief in the changeability of the Divine Will (cf. p. 66²⁵) and is a counterpart of the orthodox belief in 10 *Naskh* (the abolition by God of a previously revealed Law). Generally this doctrine is regarded as a specific tenet of the Keisâniyya, Bagd. 11^b; Makr. 352²; Iji, who makes no mention of the Keisâniyya, enumerates in their stead the Badâ'iyya (348¹). This belief is supposed to have been invented *ad hoc* 15 by Mukhtâr (p. 79¹⁷) when, contrary to his prophecies, he was defeated in battle, Bagd. 15^a; Isfr. 11^a; Shahr. 110. Wellhausen, however, points out (*Opp.* 88) that, according to Tab. II, 732¹⁰ and 706¹¹, it was 'Abdallah b. Nauf who originated this doctrine, in opposition to Mukhtâr.¹

20 The Zeidite Suleimân b. Jarîr (p. 136⁷) makes the Rawâfiq (= Imâmiyya, Appendix A) in general responsible for this belief, Shahr. 119 penult.² IBab., however, (I'tikadat fol. 6^a) protests against those who charge the Imamites with Badâ. These people merely imitate the Jews who prefer the same charge (he 25 apparently means *Naskh*) against the Muslims. He quotes Ja'far as-Şâdik as saying that he who believes in Badâ is a Kâfir.³

A curious instance of the application of the Badâ doctrine is quoted I Ath. VIII, 21. Abû'l-Khattâb (p. 112) and his adher- 30 ents claimed that no sword could do them any harm. But when some of them had been executed, he resorted to the pretext: "since it pleased God to do otherwise, how can I help it"?

إذا كان قد بدا لله فما حيلتي.

¹ It must be remarked, however, that Tab. II, 732¹⁰, a variant, reads Mukhtâr instead of 'Abdallah b. Nauf.

² This passage is quoted Anon. Sufi fol. 120^a in the name of Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî (died 606^b).

³ The text of this passage is apparently corrupt and does not allow of a reproduction.

— L. 13, I have not been able to find an authority for [53] this statement. The number of (official) wives legally permitted by law is four, Koran 4, 4.

— L. 14. On similar dietary restrictions by a Carmathian missionary see later p. 76¹⁴. The prohibition of cabbage is very ⁵ old. The pagans considered the eating of it disgraceful and the Harranians in later times clung to the same custom, Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 110. In our passage apparently the red cabbage is referred to. The reason given for the prohibition reminds one vividly of the popular Shiitic notion—which ¹⁰ originally was no doubt but a poetical figure—that the sunset glow represents the blood of al-Husein and never existed before, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331.

— L. 18. This notion is probably the consequence of the great emphasis laid by the Shiites on the significance of the ¹⁵ name Ali ("Exalted"). One is reminded of Koran 19, 8, where the prediction of Yahya's (John's) birth is followed by the solemn declaration لَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ سَمِيًّا. Comp. also the stress laid on the identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet, p. 53.

54, l. 1. Comp. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* B 13. — "Von ihm ²⁰ [54] (i. e., Ali b. Bekr. b. Wäil) kommen alle, die im Stamme Nizār mit ihrem Geschlechtsnamen 'Alawī genannt werden" (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, from Nawawi).

— Note 1. See Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* C 13. ²⁵

— L. 3. Azd. see ib., e. g., 11^{19, 21}; Bajila, e. g., 9¹⁶.

— Note 2. Ali b. Jasr b. Muḥārib b. Khasafa, ib. D 10.— Ali b. Mas'ūd, 11¹⁹.—'Abd Manāt, N 9.—Hīsn, grandson of Ali b. Mas'ūd, C 15.

— L. 5. 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail, a contemporary of the Prophet, ³⁰ ib. E 20. His kunya Abū 'Alī, see Agh., *Tables* sub voce

أبو علي.

— L. 9. This conception is not specifically Shiitic but rather belongs to the domain of Kalām. Makr. 348¹⁰, at the end of his account on the Mu'tazila, mentions a special sect ³⁵ *المُفَنِّتَةُ الْقَاتِلُونَ*

بَفَنَاءِ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ. I. H. refers to it more explicitly Ed. IV, 83³¹ ff. in a special chapter on "the eternal existence of the

- [54] residents of Paradise and Hell": "All sects of the (Muhammedan) Community agree that there is no decay for Paradise and its pleasure nor for Hell and its pain. The only exceptions are Jahm b. Ṣafwān, Abū'l-Huḍeīl al-'Allāf and *some of the Rawāfiḍ*.⁵ Jahm maintains that both Paradise and Hell will decay and their residents as well.¹ Abū'l-Huḍeīl, however, maintains that neither Paradise and Hell nor their residents will decay. But the movements of the latter will decay and they will remain in an immovable state like a mineral. In spite of it, they will¹⁰ be alive and enjoy pleasure and suffer pain respectively. The party of the Rawāfiḍ referred to above believes that the residents of Paradise will leave Paradise and the residents of Hell will leave Hell for some unknown destination (lit.: whither it is Allah's desire)."² See Iji 336; Makr. 349²⁰.—On Abū'l-¹⁵ Huḍeīl's view see de Boer, p. 51.

A certain heretic by the name of 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. Shuneif attacks a friend of I. H. on account of his belief in the eternity of Paradise and Hell, Ed. I, 19.

- L. 11. The eternity of the world is taught by the Mu'am-
²⁰ mariyya, a section of the Khattābiyya, p. 114¹¹, see Shahr. 137 = Makr. 352²; Iji 346. This belief is the outcome of the doctrine of Transmigration (Makr.), as the latter, taking the place of Reward and Punishment after death, dispenses with Resurrection and accordingly with the establishment of a new world.
²⁵ Isfr 57^b is apparently aware of this connection when he curtly remarks: أَنَّ الدُّنْيَا لَا تَفْنَى وَكَانُوا يُنْكِرُونَ الْقِيَامَةَ وَيَقُولُونَ

بِتَنَاسُخِ الْأَرْوَاحِ.

The way this view is contrasted with the belief in the decay of Paradise and Hell suggests a connection between them. In
³⁰ point of fact, the belief in Transmigration, when carried out logically, not only necessitates the eternity of this world, but, fulfilling the function of Reward and Punishment, dispenses altogether with Paradise and Hell. IBab., *ʿItikādāt* 12^b

¹ Comp. Kashi 177: an-Nazzām (p. 58⁶) said to Hishām b. al-Hakam (p. 65¹¹): "The residents of Paradise will not exist in Paradise an eternal existence" and so forth.

² The last words most probably refer to the belief mentioned later, p. 85¹⁷ ff.

fully recognizes this connection: [54] والقول بالتناسخ باطلٌ ومن دان بالتناسخ فهو كافر لأن في التناسخ إبطال الجنة والنار.

— L. 12, ff. Bekrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Alger, 1857, p. 161, gives a brief description of this sect which offers several important points of comparison with the account of I. H. I give Bekrī's passage in translation: "To the right of the Banū Māgūs there is a tribe called Banū Lamās. They are all Rawāfīd and known under the name Bajaliyyūn. There settled in their midst a Bajalite¹ of the people of Nafta in Ḳastilia, before Abū 'Abdallah ash-Shī'ī entered Ifrikiya." His name was Muhammed b. Wrstd

(ورستد, sic). He called upon them (read ودعاهم) to denounce the Companions (of the Prophet) and permitted them forbidden things . . . They still adhere to his doctrine to this day and (believe) that the Imamate is permissible only in the descend-¹⁵ ants of al-Ḥasan, not in those of al-Ḥusein. Their ruler was Idrīs Abū'l-Ḳāsim b. Muhammed b. Ja'far b 'Abdallah b. Idrīs."

The name of the founder of this sect appears here in a different form. IḤauḳal 65²¹ (=Yakut I, 320) agrees with I. H. in calling him ابن ورسند, but they omit the mention of his first²⁰ name. The name and pedigree of their ruler are altogether different and I have no means to decide which are the correct ones.³

As regards the cardinal doctrine of this sect—the limitation of the Imamate to the Ḥasanides—Bekrī agrees with I. H. (55, l. 5).²⁵ In contradiction with it, IḤauḳal (=Yakut) reports that they were Mūsawites (cf. p. 40), i. e. acknowledged the Imamate of Mūsa b. Ja'far, who was descended from al-Ḥusein. The former statement is no doubt correct, as the Idrisides who ruled over them were Ḥasanides.³⁰

— L. 14. On Nafta see Yakut IV, 800. It is two days' journey from Ḳafsa, mentioned in the same line, ib. Ḳafsa, a small place (بلدة صغيرة), lies three days from Keirowan, ib.

¹ رجل بجلي, of the tribe Bajila?

² i. e. before 280^h.

³ Gen. Leyd. omits the Idrisides in Africa.

[54] IV, 151. Kastilia mentioned here is not the Spanish province, but a region in Northwest Africa on the great Zâb, Yakut IV, 97; see also I, 892, IV, 151. The emendation proposed, note 11, is not necessary.

⁵ It is worthy of notice that the people of this region, from which the founder of this Shiitié sect came, were Khârijites, Yakut IV, 97, 800.

— L. 16. The city mentioned here is as-Sûs al-Aksa. It is fully two months' journey from as-Sûs al-Adna, Yakut III, 189.—On the Maşmûda tribes, see Kremer, *Ideen* 383, note.

[55] 55, l. 2. According to IHaukal (=Yakut) ib. the two parties of the city (the others were Mâlikites) alternately worshipped in the same mosque.

— L. 3. The prohibition seems to be of Hindoo origin. The ¹⁵Laws of Manu V, 5, forbid the priest to eat (among other things): "garlick, onions, leeks and mushrooms, and *all vegetables raised in dung*." Comp. Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 109.

— Note 1. On 'Abdallah b. Yâsin, the founder of the Almoravide dynasty (middle 11th century), see Dozy, *Isl.* 359 ff. ²⁰The by-name al-Muttawwi' I have not found elsewhere.

— L. 7. See also Text, p. 80, l. 2. On Abû Kâmil, see Bagd. 121^a, 136^a; Shahr. 133; Ijî 343; Makr. 352.

— L. 17. See also Text 80, l. 4. The author of this contention, which is certainly not unjustified, is unfortunately not ²⁵known. The contention itself is not mentioned in the other sources.

— L. 22. المتوسطة في الغلو more literally "who occupy the middle as regards 'extremism'." From the point of view of ġuluww the Shi'a appears divided into three parts: the Zei- ³⁰diyya who are entirely free from it, the Imâmiyya who partly adhere to it (comp., e. g., Raj'â, Tanâsukh, etc.), and the Ġâliya who unflinchingly profess it. The reading of L. Br. (note 6) "who keep back from ġuluww" is thus justified. However this may be, the Imamites themselves protest against ³⁵any affinity with the Ġulât. IBab., *I'tikâdât* 22^b (in a special chapter نفى الغلو) emphatically declares that they are infidels.

— Note 7. They betray Islam, because both Koran and Hadith insist that Muhammed is the last prophet, comp. Text 47, l. 8 f.

— Note 8. The reading of L. Br. is no doubt correct. Poly-[55] theism is not the charge usually preferred against the Jews by Muhammedan theologians. This would confirm our supposition as to the later date of Codd. L. Br., see Introd. p. 19.

56, l. 3. On the Ġurābiyya see IKot. 300; Iji 346; Makr. 5 353²²; Bagd. 98^a; Isfr. 58^b. The latter two and Iji state the [56] comparison more elaborately: “more than one raven the other one and one fly the other one.” The adherents of this sect curse the “ṣāhib ar-rīsh,” i. e. Jibril. In a parallel between the Rawāfiḍ and the Jews put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bī (*Ikḍ* 269, 10 comp. p. 19¹⁰) the two are identified because of their dislike of Gabriel.¹ Bagd. 98^b sorrowfully remarks that the Ġāliya are even worse than the Jews, for the latter, though disliking Gabriel, yet abstain from cursing him.

In his polemics against Judaism, I. II. (Ed. I, 138⁹) very 15 cleverly draws a parallel between the Jews who believe that Isaac confounded Esau with Jacob and the Ġurābiyya. “This contention (of the Jews) very closely resembles the stupidity of the Ġurābiyya² among the Rāfiḍa who believe that Allah dispatched Jibril to Ali,³ but Jibril erred and went to Muhammed, 20 In the same way Isaac blessed Esau, but the blessing erred and went to Jacob. Upon both parties (may rest) the curse of Allah!”

— L. 13f. Ali was about thirty years younger than the Prophet (comp. Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 315). Consequently he was 25 ten years old when Muhammed made his first appearance. The same is assumed Ed. IV, 142¹¹ and in the variant of L. Br. to our passage (note 1). The reading of Ed. seems to be incorrect. But there is a difference of opinion as to the date of Ali’s birth, see I. II in the quoted passage and Tab. I, 346⁷⁻¹² ff. 30

— L. 15 ff. On Muhammed’s physical appearance see Ibn Hishām I, 266; Tab. I, 1789 ff.; Nawawi, *Tahdīb* 32-33. It is interesting to observe that I. II is unprejudiced enough to point out that Muhammed was above middle-size. The other writers

¹ Allusion to Koran II, 91, comp. Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen*, p. 13.

² Ed. has الغالية, but V 80^a, and L I, 54^b (which in this section of *Milal* sides with Ed.) have the correct reading.

³ V. + بالنبوة والرسالة Ed. L. missing.

[56] anxiously insist that the Prophet was neither short nor tall, but the exact medium between the two.

[57] 57, l. 1 ff. On Ali's appearance see Tab. I, 3470' (=IAth. III, 333); Tahdib 441 penult.—Sibt, *Imams* fol. 4", gives a

5 similar description of Ali: **كَانَ آدَمَ شَدِيدَ الْأُذْمَةِ الْعَبَّيْنِ**

غَلِيظَ السَّاعِدَيْنِ اقْرَبَ إِلَى الْقَصْرِ مِنَ الطُّولِ عَرِيضَ الْحَيَةِ

اضْلَعَ (أَصْلَحَ) أَبْيَضَ الرَّأْسِ وَالْحَيَةِ (read **أَصْلَحَ**). Ali looked particu-

larly short because of his corpulence. Whenever Ali appeared on the market of Kufa, the satirical Persians would exclaim

10 **بِزْرِكَ أَشْكَنْبِ أَمَدٍ** "Here comes the big-bellied man!" (ZDMG.

38, 392, from Madā'ini). It is characteristic that both Sunnitic and Shiitic writers anxiously avoid to mention this feature of Ali which is so repugnant to the Arabic taste. Of all the sources at my disposal I find, besides the reference quoted

15 above, only one more allusion to it in *Ikd* II, 274 (بطيئاً).

--- L. 11. The number 23 is not exact. The interval between Muhammed's first appearance and his death was $21\frac{1}{2}$ lunar years; see the list in Sprenger, *Leben Muhammed's* I, 205.

— L. 12. On ظريف (note 17) see p. 55¹⁶.

20 58, l. 3. The exclusive (note 3) reverence of Ali is charac-
[58] teristic of several sects: the Sabā'iyya (Text 71¹⁵) and the 'Ulyā-niyya and Nuṣeiriyya, which, according to I. II. (Text 66, l. 17 and 71, l. 18), are branches of the former.

— L. 4 ff. The persons named in the following are the
25 twelve Imams of the Ithnā'ashariyya. The biographical data concerning these Imams can best be learned from the list in Abu'l-Maali, p. 164–165, see Schefer's Introduction, p. 184 f. A more detailed account Diyarbekri II, 286–288. The omission (in l. 6) of the tenth Imam, Ali b. Muhammed (al-Hādī at-Takī,
30 born 214, died 254), is, it seems, not accidental. For in accordance with it, Ali (l. 7) is changed to Muhammed. The same omission and the same change are exhibited by Codd. L. Br. Text p. 76, note 4 and 5.¹ Whether this peculiar error is due to his proximity to the eighth Imam, who bears the same name,
3 or to some more significant circumstance, is difficult to determine.

¹ Ed. IV, 103 ^{10,11} his genealogy is given correctly.

— Note 6. It is worthy of note that the benediction رَحْمَةً is [58] added only after the name of Ja'far. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (died 146) was not only the patron-saint of the Shiites. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunnites, see p. 105¹². Cf. ZDMG. 50, 123.

— L. 10. On the Carmathians, see p. 19, l. 32. Muhammed b. Ismā'il at-Tāmm, "the Completer," is the seventh and last "open" Imam in the belief of the Sab'iyya, or "Seveners." After him begins the series of hidden Imams, Shahr. 127 ff., 146. The Carmathian missionary Yahya b. Dikrweih pretended that he was this Muhammed, Tab. III, 2218 (anno 289). 10

— L. 12. Read: "This is a party." On the Keisāniyya, see p. 33 ff. The Keisāniyya do not agree as to whether Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya inherited the Imamate directly from Ali, or indirectly through Hasan and Husein, Shahr. 110. Kuthayyir (p. 134²⁰) speaks of *four* Imams, comp. Barbier de 15 Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 164.

— L. 13. On Mukhtār, see Shahr. 110 (he distinguishes between the Keisāniyya and Mukhtāriyya). Very elaborate accounts on Mukhtār with specimens of his *saḥ* can be found Bagd. 12^b ff.; Isfr. 10^b ff. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 74 ff., gives an 20 elaborate sketch of his personality.

59, l. 1 ff. On Muḡira see the passages in Index.—Text 34, [59] n. 5, Ed. and Codd. have *bnu Abi Sa'id*. Ed. I, 112 ult. and elsewhere correctly. Sa'id instead of Sa'id occurs *Agh.* XIX, 58, *Ikd* 267. Abu'l-Maali 157, gives him the by-name 25 أَكْبَرِي. According to Shahr. 134, Makr. 353¹ (=de Sacy XLVI) he was a "client" of Khālid al-Ḳasri, who afterwards executed him. It is possible, however, that this is a mere inference drawn from the fact that Khālid's clan Ḳasr belonged, as did Muḡira (l. 2), to the Bajila tribe (IKot. 203; IKhall. No. 212). He 30 is specifically designated as al-'Ijlī (of the Banū 'Ijl) Shahr. 134; Iji 344; Makr. 349², 353¹; Bagd. 95^b; Isfr. 54^b, 56^a; Tabari Index (in the text the statement is missing). This is significant in connection with van Vloten, *Worcers*, p. 57, and later, p. 89²⁵ ff. Muḡira rose against Khālid b. 'Abdallah al-Ḳasri, the 35 wāli of Kufa, in 119, accompanied by twenty (*Kāmil* ed. Wright 20¹⁵; Makr. 353²), according to Tab. II, 1621⁵ only by seven men. Despite their small number they spread such terror around them (the reason, see p. 92¹² ff.), that Khālid, who chanced

[59] to be in the pulpit when he heard of their uprising, came near fainting and asked for a glass of water, an action which made him the object of general ridicule, *Kāmil* ib., *Agh.* XIX, 58, XV, 121 (here they are called by the general name al-Ja'fariyya, see p. 107¹²), *Makr.* 353², van Vloten, *Worgers*, 58. The rebels were crucified, *Tab.* I, 1620²; *IKot.* 300 ("in Wāsīt"); *Ikd* 267 (probably quotation from *IKot.*). According to another version (*Tab.* 1620^b ff.; *I. H.* Text 60, l. 17; *Ikd* ib.), they were burned at the stake.

¹⁰ An exposition of Muğîra's doctrines is found *Shahr.*, *Iji*, *Makr.*, *IKot.*, *Ikd*, very elaborately *Bagd.* 95^b and, more briefly, *Isfr.* 56^a. His tenets, which show all the earmarks of "ğuluww," seem to have exercised a powerful influence in ultra-Shiitic circles. The Imamites solicitously reject any connection
¹⁵ with Muğîra, see the article on Muğîra, *Kashi* 145 ff. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdîk is reported as saying that all the extravagant views to be found in the writings of his father's (Muhammed al-Bâkîr's, died 117^h) followers are forgeries of Muğîra, ib. 146, 147.

His system, if system it be called, presents an odd mixture of
²⁰ ancient Eastern beliefs and distinctly shows the influence of gnostic, notably of Mandæan and Manichæan, doctrines. The Mandæans were very numerous in Irāk; at the time of the Abbassides they are said to have had there 400 churches. Their head resided in Bagdad.¹ The Manichæans, too, were identi-
²⁵ fied with Irāk. Mani was born in Babylonia, and he was believed (according to al-Bîrûnî) to have been sent to the people of Babylonia only. Their head had to reside in Babylonia.² The Harrânians, too, who may be mentioned in this connection, were very numerous in Irāk.³ On these influences
³⁰ see van Vloten, *Chîitisme* 47; Blochet 135, the latter also in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, XL (1899), p. 25, note 1.⁴

It can scarcely be doubted that ultimately all these influences root in the ancient religion of Babylonia; see Kessler *ibidem*,

¹ Kessler, Article "Mandæer" in *PRE³*, XII (1903), p. 172.

² Kessler, Article "Manichæer" *ibidem*, p. 226, Flügel, *Mani* 97, 105.

³ Chwolsohn, *Sabier* I, 482 ff.

⁴ It is perhaps not insignificant that a part of the Banû 'Ijl (see above p. 79³) who lived in Bahrein "completely passed into the Persian nationality." Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parsisme" in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* XLIII (1901), p. 23.

passim, the same, "Gnosis und alt-babylonische Religion" in [59] *Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses* (Berlin, 1882), p. 297 ff.

In the following an attempt is made to point out the various sources of Muğira's doctrines. It does not claim to be more ⁵ than an attempt. A closer acquaintance with the religions and literatures under consideration will no doubt bring to light far more numerous points of contact.¹

— L. 5. The corporeal conception of the Godhead was current in Shiitic circles, see, e. g., p. 67. The crown in this con-¹⁰ ception is found in various philosophemes. In the Cabbala the "Crown" (כֶּתֶר) is the highest of the Ten Sefirot (Spheres). The latter are represented in the shape of a man with a crown on his head; comp. the diagram in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* I, 181^b and in the *Hebrew Encyclopedia* (אוֹצֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל), New ¹⁵ York, 1907, I, 183. See also later, p. 83.

According to Shahr.; Makr. 349^a; Bagd. 95^b f. and others, Muğira believed that God was a man of *light* bearing a crown of *light*. This reminds one of the Mandæan doctrine of the "King of Light." Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* (Göttingen ²⁰ 1889) §§ 19–20, 80–81; the same, *Mandäische Schriften* (Göttingen 1893), p. 13–19.

— L. 6. Bagd. 96^a is less scrupulous and adds two more instances: 'Ain for the eye and Hā for the pudenda. A very similar description of God is quoted in the name of the Gnos-²⁵ tics by Irenæus, *adversus Hæreticos*² XIV, 3. A Jewish parallel, see in Gaster, "Das Schiur Komah," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 37 (1893), p. 225. Similar speculations about the shape of the letters in the name אל and אֶסֶם (the latter in Kûfic), see Blochet, 133, 192. ³⁰

— L. 12 ff. This peculiar theory of Creation is evidently the reflection of a Gnostic doctrine. Irenæus, *adversus Hæret.* XIV 1, reports a similar theory in the name of the Gnostic

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague, Prof. Louis Ginzberg, who lent me his effectual aid in pointing out the Rabbinical illustrations, the latter, too, bearing witness to the same influences. I profited by his valuable advice also in other parts of this treatise.

² The following quotations all refer to the *first* Book.

[59] Marcus¹: "When first the unoriginated, inconceivable Father, who is without material substance, and is neither male nor female, willed to bring forth that which is ineffable in Him, and to endow with form that which is invisible, He opened His
15 mouth, and sent forth the Word, similar to Himself. . . .

Moreover, the pronunciation of His name took place as follows: He spake the first word of it which was the beginning [of all the rest] and that utterance consisted of four letters. He added the second," and so forth. In Jewish Mysticism similar
10 notions can be traced. Comp. Menakhoth 29^b: "God created the two worlds (this and the future world) through the letters Hê and Yôd (constituting the Divine name Yâh)." See also Berakhoth 55^a. A similar theory is elaborately set forth in Sefer Yeşirah and is to be found in other ancient mystical
15 works. It may be mentioned in this connection that under the influence of a similar notion the Mandæan verb קרא "to call" has assumed the meaning "to create." See Kessler, art. "Mandæer" *ibid.* p. 164³⁹ and p. 165.

— L. 12. The "Greatest Name" is, as was already pointed
20 out by de Saey XLVII, note, identical with the "Shêm ha-Mephôrash," the "Ineffable Name" which occupies so prominent a place in the Jewish mystical speculations of all ages (see M. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Berlin 1901), p. 238 ff.; *Revue des Études Juives* 19, 290 f.). It plays an important part in
25 Islam as well, and here, too, the belief is current that by means of the Ineffable Name all miracles can be easily performed; see, e. g., *Ikd* 396, and (as an illustration) IKhall. No. 756.² Most of the sources dealing with Muğîra report that he claimed

¹ I quote the translation of Roberts and Rambaut, Edinburgh, 1868.

² According to I. H., the Jews believed that the sorcerers were able to resuscitate the dead by means of Divine names and that Jesus was able to do the same and to perform miracles generally by the same means, Cod. V 92^b (missing in Cod. L and Ed. I, 156, which is shorter in this part of the work): فَإِنَّهُمْ كُلَّهُمْ مَتَّفِقُونَ عَلَى أَنَّ السَّحَرَةَ

يُخَيِّوْنَ الْمَوْتَى حَقِيقَةً بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ . . . وَهُمْ لَا يَخْتَلِفُونَ فِي أَنَّ عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ يَعْمَلُ الْآيَاتِ بِتِلْكَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْكَاذِبَةِ الَّتِي لَلَّهِ; comp. S. Krauss in *Jewish Encyclopedia* VII, 171^a.

to be able to perform miracles and resuscitate the dead through [59] his knowledge of the "Greatest Name." Tab. ib. puts into his mouth the typical utterance that he had the power to bring to life the 'Âd and Thamûd and the generations that were between them.¹

— L. 13. Instead of *فوقع على تاجه* "and it (the Greatest Name) fell (L. Br.: *flew and fell*) on his crown," Bagd., Shahr.

and Iji 343 give the important variant *فوقع على رأسه تاجًا* "fell upon his head *as a crown*." He referred, as Shahr. and

Bagd. tell us, to Koran 87, 1: *وَسَبِّحْ أَصْمَ رَبِّكَ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي*¹⁰

وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ الْأَسْمَ الْأَعْلَى أَنَّمَا هُوَ and, as Bagd. explains, *وَزَعَمَ*

and, as Bagd. explains, *وَزَعَمَ* "he assumed that the Highest Name was identical with this very crown." The same conception of the identity of the "Shêm ha-Mephôrash" with the Crown is frequently found in the Cabbala. It takes the form that the name was¹⁵ engraved upon the Crown, see *Jew. Enc.* IV, 370^a and 372^b (the references can be multiplied).—On the crown of the Mandaean "King of Light" see Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften* 13–19. The Mandaean priests wear during the service a crown (tāj) on the right upper arm, Kessler, article "Mandäer," p. 214 ult.²⁰

— L. 14. Apart from the words left out in Ed. (note 6), the passage reflects the ancient idea, also found in the Bible, that man's actions are written down in heaven. The additional words of L. Br. are confirmed by Shahr. 135²: *وقد كتبها على*

كفّه.²

25

— L. 15 ff. This queer notion, too, has its root in some Gnostic doctrine. Irenæus, *adv. Hæret.* IV, 2, commenting upon the Gnostic belief that from the tears of Achamoth

¹ This is no doubt the original version. According to IKot. and (probably quoting) Ikd 267, he claimed this power for Ali. This may partly be the reason why these two writers designate Muğîra as one of the Sabâiyya. For the latter was considered as the party of Ali *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, see p. 101²⁷.

² Prof. Ginzberg suggests a connection with Is. 49, 16: "Behold I have engraved thee on my palms." It may be the consequence of some mystic interpretation of this verse.

[59] (חֲכָמוֹת) "all that is of a liquid nature was formed," funnily remarks that he could easily enlarge upon it. "For when I perceive that waters are in part fresh . . . and in part salt, . . . I reflect with myself that all such waters cannot be derived
 5 from her tears, inasmuch as these are of a saline quality only. It is clear, therefore, that the waters which are salt are alone those which are derived from her tears. But it is probable that she, in her intense agony and perplexity, was covered with perspiration. And hence, following out their notion, we may
 10 conceive that fountains and rivers, and all the fresh waters in the world, are due to this source." A somewhat similar idea is found in the Talmud (*Ḥagiga* 13^b): "Whence does the stream *Dînûr* (Daniel 7, 10) come? From the perspiration of the Holy living Creatures." [Cf. *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 78.]

15 The two lakes, then, are formed of the Divine tears and the Divine perspiration respectively. They no doubt correspond to the *mâyê siyâurê* and the *mâyê hîvârê*, the "dark and white waters" of the Mandæans; see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, pp. 30, 43, 51, etc.—Instead of "sweet" (ll. 17 and 22) read
 20 "fresh."

— L. 18 ff. The same conception is found in several Gnostic systems, notably among the Mandæans. "When Life . . . had thus spoken, Abatur rose and opened the gate. He looked into the Dark Water, and at the same hour was formed his image
 25 in the Dark Water. Pthil² was formed and he ascended the Place of the Borders."³

Illustrative of l. 19 is the passage in Irenaeus XIV, 1: "The world, again, and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of
 30 angels, a shining image bursting forth below from the presence of the Supreme power; and when they could not, he says, keep hold of this, because it immediately darted upwards again, they exhorted each other saying: let us make man after our image and likeness."

35 — L. 20. Out of the two eyes of the shadow only two luminaries could naturally be formed. For this reason I disre-

¹ Comp. also Kessler, article "Manichäer," p. 236 ult.: "The rain was considered to be the perspiration of the toiling archont."

² =Gabriel, the Demiurge of the Mandæans.

³ Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, p. 184, see also Kessler, *ib.* p. 210.

gard the additional reading of L. (note 12).¹ Shahr. 135⁴ and [59] very similarly Bagd. speak of the sun and the moon. But our text seems to reflect a more complicated and, consequently, more original conception. Perhaps one may combine it with the well-known Jewish legend that originally the two luminaries were of equally large size and that the moon was subsequently reduced in size on account of its jealousy.

— L. 22. Sin, and correspondingly Evil as being primitive and co-existent with Creation, is a widespread Gnostic doctrine and is a consequence of Dualism, which is at the bottom of all 10 Gnostic systems. According to Irenaeus XXIV, 2, Saturninus “was the first to affirm that two kinds of men were formed by the angels,²—the one wicked, and the other good.”³—On the lakes see before.—Instead of “the Faithful,” Makr. 353³ has “the Shi‘a.” Bagd. says more explicitly: *الشيعية . . . وهم* 15

المؤمنون. Extremely interesting in this connection is the passage Ed. IV, 69⁴: “Some people among the Rawāfiḍ are of the opinion that the spirits of the Infidels are in Burhūt—this is a well in Hadramaut⁴—and that the spirits of the Faithful are in another place, I think it is al-Jābiya.”⁵ 20

60, l. 1. This view is in all probability a reflection of the [60] Clementine doctrine of the “True Prophet” who appears in various ages under different names and forms, but is in reality one, *Clementine Homilies* III, 12 ff., 20; *Recognitiones* I, 16. He is called Christ but he is also identical with Adam, *Recogn.* 25 I, 45, 47. The persons in whom the true Prophet revealed himself are given *Homilies* XVII, 4 (in a statement by Simon Magus) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses; in XVIII, 13 (in a reply by Peter) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob [and Christ]. In both the number 30

¹ Br. reads like Ed.—Note 12 is to be corrected accordingly.

² See above p. 84²⁹.

³ See a similar conception of the origin of evil, *Clementine Homilies* XX, 8, 9; XIX, 12 ff.

⁴ See Yakut I, 598, where this belief is derived from a tradition transmitted from the Prophet, Ali and Ibn ‘Abbās. Interesting is the remark that the water of this well is dark and stinking. al-Jābiya is in Syria, *ibidem* and II, 4.

⁵ Comp. *Ma‘āni an-Nafs*, ed. Goldziher, p. 62*.

[60] seven is evidently intended. This is important in view of the numerous Shiitic doctrines which are based on the same number of prophets (see Index s.v. Seven).—The conception of the “true Prophet” is complemented, it seems, by the Clementine belief that God has the power of changing himself: “for through his inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes” (*Homilies* XX, 6). This is practically the doctrine of Incarnation, which is of such fundamental significance for the Ultra-Shi‘a.—Another instance of the adaptation of a Clementine doctrine, see p. 116 n. 2.

— L. 2. Jābir died 128 or, according to another version, 132 (Tab. III, 2501). Either date contradicts the statement Bagd. 97^a that he was among those who expected the “return”

of Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah (see l. 10) who died in 145: **وَمَا أَوْلَا**
يُقَالُ لَهُمُ الْمُحَمَّدِيَّةُ مِنَ الرَّافِضَةِ لَا تَنْتَظِرُهُمْ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ

ابن الحسن بن الحسن وكان جابري الجعفي على هذا المذهب,
 see also 17^b. Jābir was a passionate admirer of Ali and maintained that the latter was meant by **دَابَّةُ الْأَرْضِ** “the beast of the Earth” (Koran 34, 13); Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 113, comp. ZDMG. 38, 391.—The Imamites consider his traditions trustworthy, Kashi 126. He is briefly mentioned Tusy p. 73, No. 139.

— L. 3. ‘Āmir b. Shurāhīl ash-Sha‘bī (ash-Shu‘bī is misprint) died 103 or 104. The sources dealing with this celebrated traditionist are enumerated *Fihr.* 183 note 14.—Shahr. 145 counts him among the Shi‘a. He appears *Ikḍ* 269 (= Isfr. 15^a) as a bitter enemy of the Rawāfid. But the utterances put into his mouth are no doubt spurious. [See Index s.v. ash-Sha‘bī.]

— L. 4. Khālid al-Ḳasrī (Ḳasr, a clan of the Bajīla) was executed in the year 126 by his successor in the governorship of Kufa, Yūsuf b. ‘Omar ath-Thakāfī, in a most barbarous manner. See on Khālid, *IKhall.* No. 212; *IKot.* 203; *Agh.* XIX, 53 ff.; Flügel, *Mani* 320–322. He frequently appears in our text as a relentless persecutor of heretics. But the motive for his attitude was evidently not religious zeal but loyalty to the Omeyyad dynasty, which was threatened by these heretics. His own orthodoxy was of a rather problematic nature. He was a

powerful protector of the Manichæans (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 105), [60] and his mother was a Christian. His achievements in the extermination of heretics were rewarded by a ḥadīth in which the Prophet announces to his ancestor Asad b. Kurz that Islam will be victorious through his descendants, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* 5 II, 45 f.

— L. 6. I find no reference bearing on Bekr, except the notice Bagd. 97^a: فَلَمَّا مَاتَ جَابِرٌ ادَّعَى بَكْرَ الْأَعْوَرِ الْهَجَرِيِّ: الْقَتَاتِ وَصِيَّةَ جَابِرٍ إِلَيْهِ وَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَمُوتُ¹ وَأَكَلَ بِذَلِكَ أَمْوَالَ الْمَغْبِرِيَّةِ عَلَى وَجْهِ الشَّخَرِيَّةِ مِنْهُمْ فَلَمَّا مَاتَ بَكْرٌ عَلِمُوا أَنَّهُ كَانَ كَاذِبًا فِي دَعْوَاهُ فَلَعَنُوهُ.

— L. 10. On Muhammed see Text 43. I have not been able to fix the date of his birth and cannot therefore confirm the statement preserved in L. Br. (note 5). Bagd. 17^b and more elaborately 96^a reports that after Muhammed's death the 15 Muḡiriyya claimed that a devil was executed in his stead (comp. p. 30¹²) and that he himself was hidden in Ḥājir, in the mountains of Raḍwa (Text 43 n. 7). They also believed that Muhammed would bring to life seventeen men whom he would endow with the seventeen letters of the "Greatest Name", so as to enable 20 them to perform miracles (see p. 82). They adduced in proof of his Imamate his identity in name and father's name with that of the Prophet (comp. p. 53¹⁷).²

The Muḡiriyya referred to here are, of course, the *followers* of Muḡira, not Muḡira himself, who died (anno 119) 26 years 25 before Muhammed (145). Bagd. reports the same beliefs in the name of Jābir al-Ju'fi.

— L. 12. On the sanctity with which water is invested among the Mandæans and which is no doubt of old Babylonian

¹ See for a similar claim p. 113²⁶.

² Isfr. 12^a gives a similar account which is extracted by Haarbrücker II, 412.—It is remarkable that Iji 344 mentions as the Imam of the Muḡiriyya not Muhammed but a man named زَكْرِيَّا بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ, who is otherwise utterly unknown (Ibidem read حَاجِر instead of حَاجِر.)

[60] origin, see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* 68, note 2 and 69, Kessler, "Über Gnosis und altbabylonische Religion" (*Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses*, Berlin 1882), p. 300.

— L. 16. The name of this sectarian appears in the form ⁵ **بيان** and **بنان**. Ed. as well as Codd. have indiscriminately both (comp., e. g., Ed. I, 112 ult. and Text 34 note 8). The general form, however, is **بنان**. It is found Shahr. 113 (Haarbrücker 171: Bunân; Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874 p. 169: Bennân), Kashi (consistently, e. g., 188¹, 195^{11, 15} 196¹⁰ etc.); Iji 344 (also quoted in *Dictionary of Technical Terms* sub voce); *Mirza* repeatedly; *Lubb al-Lubâb* s.v. **البناني** (see Appendix s.v. **البياني** where the editor argues against the form **بيان**). In spite of this consensus, the only correct form, as is apparent from the application of the name p. 61, l. 17, also ¹⁵ Bagd. 95^b,¹ is **بيان**.

On Bayân's teachings see Makr. 349¹, 352²; Bagd. 12^a, 91^a, very elaborately 95^a; Isfr. 56^a. Most writers ascribe to him the same doctrines as to Muğira. According to Kashi 196, he believed, on the basis of Koran 43, 84, that the God of Heaven ²⁰ and the God of Earth are two different beings. For a similar doctrine see later p. 127¹².²

— L. 17 ff. The following story is given Tab. II, 1620 (anno 119)=IAth. V, 154 in a different presentation.

[61] 61, l. 12 f. Ibn Ḥazm "most emphatically insists on the ²⁵ uncorporeality of God and violently rejects the (Divine) attributes," Kremer, *Ideen* p. 39.

— L. 16. For a very similar example see Text 62, l. 4. I. H. (Ed. IV, 198¹⁷) reports that Aḥmad b. Yânush (Ed. has **سابوس**, see p. 10²⁰) "pretended to be a prophet, maintaining that it was ³⁰ he who was meant by the saying of Allah (Koran 61, 6): 'Announcing an apostle who will come after me, whose name will be Aḥmad.'"

¹ Whether the application is historically true or not, makes no difference.

² **ابن وكيع البناني** who is mentioned *Fihrr.* 180^a among the **متكلمي المجبرة** has certainly nothing to do with Bayân, as is assumed by the editors in note 5.

— L. 18. Abû Hâshim died in Humeima (Palestine) in 78 [61] or 79, Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 369; van Vloten, *Chiiisme* 45. On his alleged concession of the Imamate to the Abbassides see Tab. III, 24, 2500; IKhald. I, 360. Van Vloten (ib. 44) is inclined to ascribe to the Hâshimiyya the initiative to a systematic Shiitic 5 propaganda. However this may be, certain it is that Abû Hâshim, who left no children,¹ presents a turning point in the development of Zeiditic or anti-legitimistic Shiism, in the same way as does Ja'far as-Şâdiq, on account of his numerous children, in the history of Imamitic or legitimistic Shiism. 10

— Note 17. This addition is in keeping with the Zeiditic principle which demands the personal qualification of the Imam, see Text 75, l. 9.

62, l. 1. On Abû Manşûr see IKot. 300; *Ikd* 267; Shahr. [62] 135 f.; Ijî 344; Makr. 353¹⁷; Bagd. 91^a, 97^b; Isfr. 56^b; particu- 15 larly van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. The appellation al-Mustanîr, which is not quite clear, does not occur in the other sources. His nickname "al-Kîsf" is explained Shahr. 136 in connection with his assumption that he was lifted up to heaven, then hurled downwards and thus became "a fragment falling down from 20 heaven." According to *Ikd* and Shahr. 136² (the later in contradiction with himself), Abû Manşûr applied this designation to Ali.

— L. 2. Abû Manşûr was by descent (note 3) a member of the 'Ijl to which Muğira attached himself as maula (Text 59²). 25 Interesting in this connection is the remark of Ibn Faķîh (ed.

de Goeje), p. 185¹²: **وَكَانَ مِنْهُمْ أَبُو مَنْصُورِ الْخَنَّافِ وَكَانَ يَتَوَلَّى**

سَبْعَةَ أَذْيَبَاءَ مِنْ بَنِي قُرَيْشٍ وَسَبْعَةً مِنْ بَنِي عَجَلٍ To these

(the inhabitants of Kufa who pretended to be prophets) belonged Abû Manşûr the Strangler (see later, p. 92). He chose for his 30 friends (?)² seven prophets out of the Banû Kureish and seven out of the Banû 'Ijl." Comp. van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. On the Banû Ijl, see p. 80, note 4. This remark alludes perhaps

¹ Gen. Leyd., which enumerates only the Alides who left offspring, does not enumerate Abu Hâshim among the children of Ibn al-Ĥanafîyya.

² Or "favored." The meaning of **تَوَلَّى** is not quite clear. See, however, next note.

[62] to the Karmatian theory of the seven prophets and their substitutes (cf. p. 79⁶).¹ The significant passage Kashi 187 (parallel 195) may bear some relation to the subject in question. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq makes the following statement: "Allah revealed in the ⁵Koran seven (pseudo-prophets?) with their names. The Kureish, however, struck out six and left only Abū Lahab."

When subsequently asked about the saying of Allah (Koran 26, 221-222): "Shall I inform you of those on whom the Satans have descended? Descended they have on every sinful liar,"
¹⁰he replied: "They are seven: al-Muḡira b. Sa'id, Bunān (see p. 88), Ṣā'id an-Nahdī, al-Hārith ash-Sha'mī, 'Abdallah b. al-Hārith,² Ḥamza b. 'Omāra az-Zubeiri³ and Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (p. 112)." Abū Maṣṣūr is not mentioned.

— L. 7. According to Makr. 478 ult., the Jewish sectarian ¹⁵Abū 'Īsa al-Iṣbahānī similarly claimed "that he was lifted up to heaven and the Lord patted him on his head." The early Jewish sects under Arabic dominion show a great many traces which remind one of the early Muhammedan sects, especially those of the Shi'a.

²⁰ — L. 9. Curiously enough Kashi 196 relates in the name of a man who had it from Abū Maṣṣūr himself that God addressed the latter in *Persian* یا پسر.—The reading adopted in our text (note 8) is confirmed by Shahr. 136 l. 4.

— L. 10. The "Word" (Logos) is Christ, as he is often ²⁵styled in Arabic. Comp. Ed. IV, 197²¹: Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it and Aḥmad b. Yānūsh, the pupils of an-Nazzām (see p. 10 f.) "both maintained that the world had two creators: one who is eternal

¹ I am not certain, however, as to the meaning of the passage. تولى which is difficult (see preceding note) may signify "to become a maula"

(see Dozy s.v.). Then the nominative ought to be read: سبعة أنبياء . . . ⁵وسبعة and the meaning would be the following: Among the pseudo-prophets in Kufa seven attached themselves as maulas to the Kureish and seven to the 'Ijl. The number seven is in any case noteworthy and hardly accidental. See the Index to this treatise s.v. Seven.

² P. 195 عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرث. See p. 124²⁴.

³ Var. on the margin البريدى; p. 195¹¹ الريدى; 197⁸ اليزيدى.

and this is Allah, and the other one who is created and this is [62] the Word of Allah (كلمة الله), Jesus Christ (المسيح عيسى), the son of Maryam, through whom he created the world." This distinctly points to Christian influence, whether directly (see the quotation from Bagd. in the next note) or through some 5 gnostic medium, must be left open.

— L. 11. According to Shahr. 134, Muġîra b. Sa'îd (p. 79 ff.) similarly believed that the shadows of Muhammed and Ali (Bagd. 95^b mentions the shadow of Muhammed only) were created first. Comp. preceding note. This doctrine is called 10 "tafwîd" and is quoted alongside of "ġuluww" (Tusy, very frequently, e. g., Nos. 281, 417, 415, 455 speaks instead of (الغلو والتخليط). IBab., *ʿItikadat* 24^a has a special chapter في ورؤى عن زُرارة¹ أنه. He defines it as follows: 15 قال قلت للصادق عليه السلام إن رجلاً من ولد عبد الله بن سبأ² يقول بالتفويض قال وما التفويض قلت يقول إن الله عز وجل خلق محمداً وعلياً ثم فوض الأمر إليهما فخلقا ورزقا وأحببنا وأماننا فقال كذب عدو الله.

وأمّا المفوضة من Bagd. 98^b states the matter more accurately: 20 الرافضة فقوم زعموا أن الله تعالى خلق محمداً ثم فوض إليه تدبير العالم وتقديره فهو الذى خلق العالم دون الله تعالى ثم فوض محمداً تدبير العالم الى على بن ابي طالب فهو اصحاب التفويض Masudi III, 266 calls Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it and Aḥmad b. Yānūsh (see preceding page) 25 الوسايط "the adherents of "Tafwîd" and Mediators (between God and the world)."

¹ On Zurâra b. A'yun (died 150) see Tusy 141 ff. He was a favorite of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq. Fih. 220. (See also Index to this treatise sub voce Zurâra.)

² See p. 19. ولد apparently stands here for "adherent."

[62] At the bottom of this idea lies the Gnostic discrimination between the "unoriginated, inconceivable Father" and the Word (Logos) emanating from him which is the Demiurge; see preceding note and p. 82¹ ff. See also later, p. 127.

3 — L. 12 f. Comp. Ed. I, 77¹¹. Shahr. 136⁵ expresses it negatively *وزعم ايضا ان الرُّسُل لا تنقطع ابداً والرسالة لا تنقطع*

This doctrine is probably the reflection of the Clementine conception of the True Prophet, see p. 85²². It contradicts both Koran and Sunna, which equally insist that Muhammed is the
10 last prophet (p. 76³⁸).

— L. 15. The same is reported of the Khaṭṭābiyya, p. 14.

— L. 18 ff. Ibn Faḳīh (ed. de Goeje) 185¹⁵ speaks of "Abū Maṣṣūr the Strangler." IKot. 300 says briefly: "to them (the Maṣṣūriyya) belong the Stranglers." Shahr. 136⁹ says less
15 distinctly: "his (Abū Maṣṣūr's) adherents thought it permissible to kill their opponents and take away their property." Assassination is designated as a peculiarity of the Muḡīriyya and Maṣṣūriyya (see Index *sub voce* Terrorism). Jāḥiẓ in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* gives an account of the manners of these
20 terrorists of the eighth century. He who practised both "strangling" and "skull-breaking" was styled "Jāmi'," "Combiner." This extremely curious and interesting passage is reproduced and discussed by van Volten, *Worgers in Iraq* (in a Dutch article. See List of Cited Works *sub voce* van Vloten,
25 *Worgers*). The Thugs in India, whose beginnings date as far back as the first Muhammedan caliphs, also kill their victims by strangling.

The theological substructure for this peculiar tenet is supplied by I. H., Ed. IV, 171¹¹: "The command to do right and
30 the prohibition to do wrong¹ must be carried out with the heart and, if possible, with the tongue. It must not be executed by (employing) the hand nor in any way by drawing the sword or using arms . . . All the Rawāfiḍ hold to it, though they all be killed (see the reading of L. Br., Text 63, note 1). But they
35 believe in it only as long as the "Speaking" (Imam)² does not come forth. When he does come forth, then the drawing of swords becomes obligatory. If not, then it is not (obligatory) . .

¹ Koran 3, 100, 106, 110; 7, 156, etc.

² Comp. the Bāṭiniyya, p. 112 n. 3.

Certain sections of the Sunnites, all the Mu'tazilites, all the [62] Khawârij and Zeidiyya (comp. Text p. 75ⁿ) are of the opinion that with reference to the command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong, the drawing of swords is obligatory, since the repulsion of wrong is impossible without it." See following 5 note.

63, l. 1 and note 1. The Khashabiyya are connected with [63] the Keisâniyya (*ib.* note 1) and originated simultaneously with them in the uprising of al-Mukhtâr. IKot. 300 thus explains the name: "the Khashabiyya of the Rawâfiḍ: Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar¹⁰ encountered 'Obeidallah b. Ziyâd. The majority of Ibrâhîm's followers were carrying with them wooden arms (al-khashab). They were, in consequence, called the Khashabiyya." Masudi V, 226 (anno 67) relates that al-Mukhtâr "began to go forth every day to fight Muṣ'ab and those that followed him of the people¹⁵ of Kufa. Al-Mukhtâr (on the other hand) had with him many people of the Shi'a. They were called the Khashabiyya (belonging) to the Keisâniyya." Comp. also the notice *Agh.* VI, 139 (=Tab. II, 1798⁴): "'Othman al-Khashabi belonged to the Khashabiyya who were with al-Mukhtâr." When Muhallab,²⁰ who fought against al-Mukhtâr, was besieging the city of Nisibis which was defended by the Khashabiyya, he thus addressed himself to the inhabitants: "O ye people! Let not these men frighten you. They are only slaves and have in their hands (nothing but) sticks." (*Agh.* V, 155; comp. Tab. II, 684¹⁶)²⁵ These sticks were designated by a Persian word as کافرکوبات "the heretic knockers," a name which is characteristic of the

¹ *Ikd* 269: "To the Râfiḍa (also belonged) the Ḥuseiniyya. They consisted of the adherents of Ibrâhîm al-Ashtar. They used to march through the lanes of Kufa at night-time and shout: "Revenge for al-Ḥusein!" Hence they were called the Ḥuseiniyya." Instead of الحسينية is most probably to be read الخشبية (see later). It seems, however, that this reading is not a scribal error but due to the author (or his source) who, neglecting the important detail that they were carrying wooden arms (khashab), brought the name into connection with the war-cry of the party ("Revenge for al-Ḥusein!").

² Comp. Abu'l-Maali 157 *صرحات الطبري وقت خروج سلاح ایشان از چوب بود* *الحشبية اصحاب صرحات الطبري* elsewhere.

[63] part played by the Persian element in al-Mukhtâr's rebellion. Thus Tab. II, 694¹⁵ (anno 66) relates that the Khashabiyya who arrived in Mekka to liberate Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (comp. 693¹) entered the Holy Mosque, carrying with them the
 5 "heretic knockers" and shouting: "On to the revenge for al-Husein!"¹ The Kâfir-kûbât occur also later in the rebellion of Abû Muslim (see the quotation in de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arabic.* IV, 278) and as late as anno 257 (IATH. VII, 99²).²

10 The name Khashabiyya, it seems, never came into general use. It is often written حشبة and, in consequence of the war cry of this party (revenge for *al-Husein!*), also حسينية; see the variants in Tab., van Vloten, *Worgers*, and *Ikd* (Comm. 93, n. 1).

15 Originally the name was probably meant to convey a social contrast. It indicated the Mawâli as "men of the sticks," that is, as poor devils who could not afford to equip themselves with proper arms (Wellhausen, *Opp.* 80). But it seems that this social aspect of the name was early forgotten and the name
 20 assumed a religious coloring. It is frequently used to designate the Keisâniyya. Thus *Agh.* XI, 47: "It was Khindif al-Asadi (cf. Comm. 42³, where "Khandak" is incorrect) who converted Kuthayyir to the Khashabiyya doctrine (مذهب
 25 الخشبية)." Kuthayyir was a typical representative of the Keisâniyya.

This peculiar idea which makes the use of arms dependent on the arrival of the Mahdi stands in a remarkable contrast to the Messianic conception of the Prophets (Is. 2, 4; Micah 4, 3). Perhaps it reflects the Messianic belief of post-biblical Judaism
 30 (adopted also by orthodox Islam), according to which the arrival

¹ The same IATH. IV, 207, where the variant معهم الكافركوبات is to be preferred. IATH. denies that the poor equipment gave rise to the name. He gives a different interpretation to the incident. "They were called Khashabiyya, because on entering Mekka they carried sticks, being reluctant to display swords in the Holy District." Tab., however, (II, 695³) reports that they threatened Ibn az-Zubeir with their swords.

² De Goeje in the glossary to *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ibidem, maintains that the word is an anachronism at so early a period as al-Mukhtâr. But the general rôle of the Persian element in that movement and the passage in Tab. confirm the genuineness of the name.

of the Messiah will be connected with a series of bloody wars. [63] At any rate, among the parallels between the Jews and the Rawāfid put into the mouth of ash-Sha'bi (*Ikd* 269, Comm. p. 19¹⁸) appears also the following comparison: "The Jews say, there shall be no fighting for the sake of God until the Messiah, the Expected One, goes forth and a herald from heaven proclaims (his arrival). The Rāfida say, there is no fighting for the sake of Allah until the Mahdi goes forth and a rope¹ descends from heaven."

In view of the religious character assigned to the use of wooden weapons, we may, with all due reserve, call attention to the utterance of Ibn Sabā recorded by Jāhiz (Comm. 43¹⁶) that Ali "would not die till he would drive you *with his stick*," the more so, as, quite independently of Jāhiz, *Zeid*. (Comm. 42²⁴) reports the same form of the Shiitic belief "that Ali is alive and has not died, but will drive the Arabs and Persians *with his stick*." ¹⁵ Perhaps it is not accidental that Kuthayyir, who was a Khashabī (see before) and had just returned from a visit to the neighborhood of ar-Radwa, which in the belief of the Keisāniyya was the hiding place of Muhammed b. al-Hanafīyya, "appeared before us *leaning on a stick*" (*Agh*. VIII, 33). ²⁰

— L. 2. On Hishām and his book see Text 74²² and Comm. 65 ff.

— L. 6. Extremely remarkable is the statement that these adepts of Terror did not even spare one another. But the reason given for it and the solemn assurance of Hishām's trustworthiness leave no doubt as to the meaning of the passage.

— L. 8. It is, of course, the fifth of the spoil originally to be delivered to the Prophet, Koran VIII, 42. The Karmatian leader Abū Tāhir and his successors still were in the habit of delivering this tax to 'Ubeidallah, whom they considered their Imam, de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 82.

64, l. 4. Most sources quoted p. 89¹⁴ f. state that Abū Man- [64] šūr laid claim to the Imamate only when Muhammed b. Ali (al-Bākir) had died (in 117).

— L. 6. On Bazīg see Shahr. 137; Iji 346; Makr. 352¹⁰. ³⁵ His name appears among those of other sectarians Kashi 196,

¹ وَيَنْزِلُ سَبَبٌ "Rope" gives no sense. Perhaps سَبَبٌ has here the meaning recorded Czys.v.: "Introducteur," the person who introduces one to the Caliph: The herald announcing the arrival of the Mahdi?

² See on this passage p. 25 n. 2.

[64] 197. 196: (sic) **ان بنائًا والسرى وزيعة**. 197: **Ja'far as-**

المغيرة بن سعيد وزيعة (sic) **والسرى وابا الخطاب** Sâdîk **ومعمر** (sic) **وابو** (sic) **بشار الاشعري وحمزة اليزيدي وصايد النهدي**. On some of these heretics see Comm. p. 90¹⁰ and Index.

⁵ When Ja'far was told that Bazîg had been killed, he exclaimed: "Praise be unto Allah! There is surely nothing better for

these Muġîriyya (read **المغيرة** instead of **المغيرة**) than to be killed, for they will never repent." (Kashi 197.)

On the variants of the name see Text here note 8 and 34 n. 7.

¹⁰ Ed. I, 112 ult. reads **يزيع**. Shahr. ascribes to him the interesting view that a man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died.¹ Probably in connection with this belief he claimed that the best among his adherents had been raised to the dignity of angels, Ijî. His profession is mentioned ¹⁵ only here and Ed. I, 112 ult. The weaver's trade was considered highly degrading, see Ferazdağ ed. Boucher 211¹⁰ f.; Wellhausen, *Opp.* 62 n. 3. The same view is held by the Rabbis. Tosefta 'Eduyoth I, 2 it is designated as the lowest trade in the world.

²⁰ — Note 10. See p. 55¹⁶.

— L. 9. Mu'ammâr appears again Text 69¹⁴. For this reason the reading of L. Br. (note 11) seems preferable. On Sarî al-Aksam (with broken front teeth) I have found nothing except the bare mention of his name Kashi 196, 197 (see this page ²⁵ l. 1 f.). In his stead the other sources enumerate as one of the sects of the Khattâbiyya **مفضل الصيرفي**, Shahr. 137 and others.

— L. 10. 'Omeir at-Tabbân is no doubt identical with **عمير** **بن بيان الجلي** Bagd. 98^a; Isfr. 58^a; Makr. 352¹²; Shahr. 137; ³⁰ Ijî 346 (the latter **بنان** instead of **بيان**, comp. p. 88³). Most probably **بن بيان** (or **بنان**) is only another reading for **التبّان** which is confirmed by the alchemistic utterance l. 12–13,

¹ Comp. Text 69¹¹, Comm. 72³¹, 113³⁰.

not recorded elsewhere. Note the expression "*this* straw." [64] That he was an 'Ijlite is significant in view of p. 79²¹ ff.—According to Makr., the 'Omeiriyya erected a special tent in Kufa for the worship of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, see later p. 107.

65, l. 1. This contradicts Shahr.'s and Makr.'s statement 5 that he was killed by Yazīd b. 'Omar b. Hubeira (Makr. يزيد بن عبيد), the governor of 'Irāk under al-Manṣūr.

— L. 3. The same number is recorded in the other sources. There is, however, a difference as regards the sects which constitute this number. I. II. apparently counts as follows: 10
1) Muğira, 2) Abū Manṣūr, 3) Bazīg, 4) Mu'ammār or, perhaps more correctly, Sarī (p. 96²³), 5) 'Omeir. The other writers, including Bagd. and Isfr., count the Muğiriyya and Manṣūriyya apart and enumerate as the five sects of the Khaṭṭābiyya: 1) the Khaṭṭābiyya proper, then the followers of 2) Bazīg, 15
3) Mu'ammār, 4) Mufaḍḍal (p. 96²⁶) and 5) 'Omeir.

— Note 2. The notice, preserved only in L. Br., refers to the event related Tab. III, 2217¹³ ff. (anno 289). The Kar-matian missionary Zikrweih b. Mihrweih endeavors to win over the Kelbites. He sends to them his son Yahya. But no one 20 joined him "except the clan known as the Banū 'l-'Uleiṣ' b. Damḍam² b. 'Adī b. Janāb¹ and their clients. They swore allegiance towards the end of 289 . . . to Zikrweih's son whose name was Yahya and whose Kunya Abū 'l-Kāsim." Comp. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 48; Istakhri 23⁴=IHaukal 29¹⁹; de Sacy²⁵ cch; *Fīhr.* 187 n. 10.—Yahya pretended to be a certain well-known Alide. But it is not settled which Alide he tried to impersonate.—Tuğj (l. 5 of note 2) was the governor of Damas-cus. I connect this sentence with the notice Tab. III, 2219¹¹: "The cause of his (Yahya's) death, according to some reports, 30 was that one of the Berbers struck him with a short spear¹ and a torch bearer² followed him who threw fire at him and burned

¹ I Ath. VII. 353 reads قليب: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II. 506. Kaliss.

² See the variants Tab. ib.

³ I Ath. حباب, comp. the reading of L.—Janāb. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* 2⁶.—On 'Adī b. Janāb see Wüstenfeld, *Register* p. 266. *Lubb al-Lubāb* s.v. العَدَوِيّ.

⁴ See Glossary to Tab. s.v. مِرَاق.

⁵ See *ib.* s.v. نَفَاط.

[65] him." The construction **من طُعج** is rather hard, for it is scarcely probable that it stands here, as it often does in later Arabic, as the exponent of the passive and signifies (burned) *by* **Tuġj**. Read **مع** (in his encounter) *with* **Tuġj**?

5 — Note 2, l. 10. On the Zenj see Tab. III, 1742 ff. (anno 255); Kremer, *Ideen* 195 f., 386. A graphic account of this movement is given by Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146 ff. Opinions differ as to the person of the Alide he pretended to represent, comp. Masudi VIII, 31; Tab. 1742¹, 10 1743, 1746¹². IKhald. I, 361 summarily states that he traced back his origin to 'Īsa b. Zeid, the son of Zeid b. 'Alī, the founder of the Zeidiyya.

— L. 4. The reading of Ed. Y. (note 3) is correct (Goldziher). 'Ihen "those" would not refer to the Khattābiyya 15 mentioned immediately before, as they are not connected with the Abbassides, but in general to those "who admit prophecy after the Prophet," p. 56¹.

— L. 6. The reading of L. Br. (note 4) stands quite isolated. The correct pronunciation is Khidāsh; see *Tāj al-'Arūs* sub hac 20 voce: **وَحْدَاش كِتَابِ اسْمِ رَجُلٍ وَهُوَ مِنْ قَوْلِهِمْ خَادَشْتُ الرَّجُلَ**

اِذَا خَدَشْتَ وَجْهَهُ وَخَدَشَ هُوَ وَجْهَهُ. Comp. van Vloten, *Chitisme*, p. 49: "Khidache (de la racine Khadacha 'déchirer avec les ongles,' puisqu'il déchira la religion)." Kremer, *Ideen* p. 11, who quotes I. H., writes incorrectly "Chaddāsch."— 25 'Ammār was executed in a most barbarous manner by Asad b. 'Abdallāh in the year 118, Tab. II, 1588⁹. This 'Ammār is not, at least is not meant to be, identical with 'Ammār al-'Ibādī who was also a missionary of the Abbassides and was similarly killed by Asad in 108, Tab. II, 1492.¹

30 — L. 12. On 'Abdallāh b. Sabā see p. 18 f.

— L. 13 ff. The incident is reported in all sources, see the quotations later. Kashi offers several details which are not recorded elsewhere. They numbered ten persons and were

¹ The latter passage strangely contradicts Tab.'s account, p. 1498 (anno 107), according to which 'Ammār alone saved himself, while the others perished.

standing at the gate. When they had been let in to Ali, they [65] said to him: "We maintain that thou art our Lord and that thou art he who created us and who gives us sustenance" (Kashi 48, parallel p. 198). According to another version (p. 72), they were seventy gypsies (الزُّنَّار). The tendency of all these stories is plain: 5 they are intended as a protest against the later "Exaggerators" by showing that Ali himself rejected them. It can be easily understood why the orthodox Shiites who were often made responsible for the extravagance of the *Gulât* were so very anxious to circulate these stories condemning the *Gulât*. 10

66, l. 1 f. "Thou art Allah"; also Makr. 352ⁿ; Iji 343 with- [66] out the preliminary "Thou art He" (l. 1); Kashi 70 أنت هو, 72 أنت أنت هو; Shahr. 132 more pointedly أنت أنت "Thou art Thou," which reminds one somewhat of the Hindoo "Tat twam asi." 15

— L. 5. The same Isfr. 54ⁿ: **الْآنَ عَلِمْنَا عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ أَنَّهُ إِلَهٌ**: **لَأَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا يَعْذِّبُ بِالنَّارِ إِلَّا رَبَّ النَّارِ**.

— L. 7. The verse is also quoted Kashi 48 and with variants 49.—Bagd. 94ⁿ (similarly Isfr. 55ⁿ) quotes another *locus probans* and gives a somewhat different version of this auto-da-fé: **عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ سَبَا الذِّي غَلَا فِي عَلِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ كَانَ نَبِيًّا ثُمَّ غَلَا فِيهِ حَتَّى زَعَمَ أَنَّهُ إِلَهٌ وَدَعَا إِلَى ذَلِكَ قَوْمًا مِنْ غَوَاةِ الْكُوفَةِ وَرَفَعَ خَبَرَهُمْ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ فَأَمَرَ بِإِحْرَاقِ قَوْمٍ مِنْهُمْ فِي حُفْرَتَيْنِ حَتَّى قَالَ بَعْضُ الشَّعَرَاءِ فِي ذَلِكَ** 25

لِتَرْمِيَ الْحَوَادِثُ حَيْثُ شَاءَتْ * إِذَا لَمْ تَرْمِ بِي فِي الْحُفْرَتَيْنِ

According to Kashi 72, Ali killed the seventy gypsies (see before) in a most ingenious manner by throwing them into a number of pits which were connected through holes. Then the pits were closed and smoke was let in through one of them, so 30 that they were all choked.

— L. 10. Kanbar is designated as a servant (خادم) of Ali, *Tahdih* 514; Tab. I, 3257 (غلام). He acts as such Kashi 48,

[66] 198. *Tāj al-ʿArūs* sub voce قنبر, and Suyūṭī, *Tarikh* 159, call him a *maula* of Ali. He was wounded in the attack on Qthman, Tab., ib.; Suyūṭī, ib.

—L. 11. All the authorities quoted throughout this treatise and a great many other writers equally attest that Ali burned some of those who held "exaggerated" notions about him. Most of them connect these "exaggerators" with Abdallah b. Sabā.¹ In spite of this consensus of opinion, the historical character of this narrative is more than doubtful. The historians proper (Tabarī, Masudī, *Iʾth.* and the minor ones) are silent on this point. The fact of an auto-da-fé at so early a period is in itself extremely unlikely. The tendency of the story is unmistakable (see p. 99^b), and the way it is connected with Ibn Sabā is satisfactorily explained when we remember the peculiar rôle assigned to this man and his sect by the Muhammedan theologians. Being a Jew, Ibn Sabā was made the scapegoat for all the subsequent heresies in Islam. The name Sabāʿiyya became synonymous with radical heresy and was applied to heretics who lived long after 'Abdallah b. Sabā.² Shahr.'s account on Ibn Sabā is almost entirely a projection of later doctrines on the founder of Shiism. It is therefore natural that he should figure in an execution of heretics by Ali.

I regard this story as an anticipation of the frequent executions of Shiitic sectarians by Khālid al-Kasrī and his successor Yūsuf b. 'Omar. *Ikd* 267 characteristically, though unconsciously, states this relation: "al-Muğira b. Sa'd (*read* Sa'id, see p. 79²⁴) was one of the Sabāʿiyya whom Ali burned at the stake." Muğira, however, was burned by Khālid as late as 119. Similarly *IKot.* 300, who mentions Muğira immediately after 'Abdallah b. Sabā and designates him as a Sabāʿi

A striking parallel to our incident and perhaps its prototype is Tab.'s account (III, 418) on the Rāwandīyya who worshipped the Caliph al-Mansūr. "They came forward shouting to Abū

¹ See, e. g., *IKot.* 300; *Ikd* 267. According to Kashi 70, Ali burned 'Abdallah himself. This, however, is contradicted by all other sources as well as by the facts, see p. 43.

² Thus al-Kelbī (died 146) is designated as an adherent (صاحب) of Ibn Sabā, *IKhall.* No. 645, p. 26. See *Comm.* 25¹¹. The same is the case with Muğira (d. 119), see this page l. 30. Cf. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 12 n. 1.

Ja'far (al-Manṣūr): 'Thou art Thou!' (The narrator) says: [66] he (al-Manṣūr) himself came out against them and fought them. While they were fighting, they came forward crying: 'Thou art Thou!'" The origin of the Rāwandīyya which points to Khorasān (see p. 123¹) and the time to which the incident is assigned strongly support the historicity of Tab.'s account.

— L. 15 f. The temptation of Jesus consisted in the "ḡluww" of the Apostles, i. e., in their belief in his divinity (comp. p. 16¹¹). The Prophet himself is reported to have compared Ali with Jesus who fell a victim to the love of the 10 Christians and the hatred of the Jews (ZDMG. 38, 391). "As for the Rāfiḍa, they strongly exaggerate concerning Ali; some of them follow the doctrines of the Christians concerning Christ. They are the Sabā'iyya, the followers of 'Abdallāh b. Sabā, Allah's curse on them." (*Ikḍ* 267).² More thoughtfully 15 is this relation between the Ultra-Shiitic and the Christian doctrines stated by IKhald. I, 358: "The Ḡulāt have transgressed the limits of reason and religion by assuming the divinity of these Imams. As for Ali, he (read **فَاتِّه**) is (considered by them) a human being which has assumed the attri- 20 butes of the Deity and (they believe) that God has embodied himself in his human (corporeal) essence. This is the doctrine of Incarnation which corresponds to the teachings of the Christians concerning Jesus."

— L. 17. The sect named in the following is considered an 25 outgrowth of the Sabā'iyya because it shares with the latter the deification of Ali. The Sabā'iyya is the Alidic sect *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Cf. Text 45¹ f., 65¹¹ f.

— L. 18. Apart from **علبانية**, the readings **علباتية** and **علبانية** are frequently found, see Text n. 7, Masudi III, 265 and 30 the references to be quoted presently. The founder of this sect is called Makr. 353¹⁶ **علمان بن ذراع السدوسي وقيل الأسدي**. Shahr. 134, however, (sic) **العلبا بن ذراع الدوسي**

¹ See Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 377. The general Afshîn (under Mur-taṣim) did not interfere with the inhabitants of the province Osrushna who styled him "Khodâ" (God). Dozy, *Isl.* p. 231.

² As-Sayyid composed a poem in which he protests against calling Ali a "son of God," ib.

- [66] وقال قوم هو الأسدي¹. The 'Ulyāniyya are designated as *Dam-miyya* ("the Blamers," Shahr., Makr.) because they blamed Muhammed for having usurped the dignity to which Ali was entitled. The 'Ulyāniyya, in particular, preferred Ali to⁵ Muhammed, claiming that Muhammed was Ali's apostle. See also Bagd. 98².

— L. 19. This *Ishāk* is most probably identical with اسحق

بن محمد النخعي³, who frequently figures in *Agh.* as a narrator of biographical stories from the life of as-Sayyid al-Himyari,² e. g., VII, 2 penult., 9², 11⁴, etc.³—Shahr. 133 f., Iji 21 and 348 he appears, independently of the 'Ulyāniyya, as the representative of a special sect which is called after him the *Ishākiyya* and is closely related to the *Nuseiriyya* (p. 127¹⁹). De Sacy II, 593 quotes besides a sect called *Hamrawiyya*, which¹⁵ he rightly connects with this *Ishāk* whose by-name was al-Ahmar. On his book and the following passage in general see later.⁴

- [67] 67, l. 1 ff. The *Muhammadiyya*⁵ who believe in the divinity of Muhammed are the counterpart of the 'Ulyāniyya who believe²⁰ in the divinity of Ali. The literary champions of the *Muhammadiyya* are al-Bhñki and al-Fayyād, while *Ishāk* b. Muhammed represents the other party. Shahr. and Makr. speak of the two sects but allusively. Thus Shahr., in speaking of the *Ilbā'iyya* (= 'Ulyāniyya, see p. 101²⁰), makes the following²⁵ remark: "Among them are such who believe in the divinity of both (Ali as well as Muhammed), but they give the preference

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 120.

² Like al Rāwis, his name is missing in the index of *Agh.*

³ Kashi 167¹ quotes him as authority for an account on a discussion between the Barmekide Vizier Yahya b. Khālid and Hishām b. al-Hakam.

⁴ As he appears in connection with the Keisanite as-Sayyid, we may identify him with *Ishāk* b. 'Omar who is mentioned *Abu'l-Ma'ali* 158 as the founder of the *Ishākiyya*, one of the four Keisanite sects.—There is no evidence, however, for his identity with a certain *Ishāk* who acts in Transoxania as an agitator for Abū Muslim, *Fih.* 344¹⁰, as is confidently assumed p. 180 ib.

⁵ Not to be confounded with the *Muhammadiyya*, as those who believe in the Imamate of Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, Text 43¹ and 60¹⁰, are designated by Bagd. 17², 97² and Isfr. 12².

to Ali in matters divine. They are called the 'Ainiyya. [67] There are among them such who believe in the divinity of both but give the preference to Muhammed as regards divinity. They are called the Mimiyya." 'Ain and Mim are apparently the initials for Ali and Muhammed respectively. The name 5 Muhammadiyya I find only here and Masudi V, 475, VII, 118 (referring to his *Sirr al-Hayât*), III, 265. The latter passage has an immediate bearing on our subject and is possibly the source of I. H.'s account. I reproduce the passage in translation: Certain heretics quote a poem by al-'Abbâs in confirma-10 tion of their *gubûr*. "This is mentioned by a number of their writers and their cleverest critics, out of the sects of the Muhammadiyya, the 'Ibâniyya (see p. 101ⁿ) and others. One of them, Ishâk b. Muhammed an-Nakha'i, known as al-Aḥmar, (did it) in his book entitled 'aṣ-Ṣirât.' It is also mentioned 15 by al-Fayyâd b. Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (see Text, p. 67, note 2) in his book known as 'al-Kustâs,' in his refutation of the book 'aṣ-Ṣirât.' It is further mentioned by the (man) known under the name of an-Nahkini (? see Text, p. 66, note 9) in his refutation of the book entitled 'aṣ-Ṣirât.' 20 These (two men) belong to the Muhammadiyya. They refuted this book (of Ishâk) which was (written) according to the doctrine of the 'Ibâniyya."

— L. 6. The name of the Kâtib is Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (note 2). I have found no reference to him elsewhere, 25 except the superscription to al-Buhturi's poem (see later).— Ishâk b. Kandâj died 279. [‘Abdallah *Text* 67' is oversight.]

— L. 9. Al-Walid b. 'Obeid aṭ-Ṭâ'i al-Buhturi lived 205–284, Brockelmann I, 80. The verse quoted by I. H. is found in al-Buhturi's *Dirâa*, ed. Constantinople (1300^h), vol. II, p. 86. 30

The *Kaṣida* is headed **وقال يمدح علي بن محمد بن الفياض** (another poem, I, 23 is headed **وقال يمدح بن الفياض**). The verse is the beginning of a *nasīb*.

— L. 11. Guweir is a drinking place of the Kelb between 'Irâk and Syria, Yakut III, 827. Bekri, *Geographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876–7, p. 703, pronounces the name **الغوير**.

- [67] — L. 16. Abū'l-Iḥusein al-Kāsim b. 'Abdallah (or 'Ubeidallah) died during the reign of Muktafi in 291, only over thirty years old. He is described as being very bloodthirsty, IKhall. No. 474.—The fact recorded by I. II.—al-Fayyād's execution⁵ at the hands of al-Kāsim—is not found in any other source at my disposal.

- [68] 68, l. 1 f. "Adam" here apparently stands for the "original

man," the *إنسان قديم* of the Manichæans, the *אדם קדמון* of the Cabbala, see Louis Ginzberg in *Jew. Encycl.*, vol. I, s.v.

- ¹⁰ Adam Kādmōn. Shahr. 114 ascribes to Bayān (p. 88¹⁰) the belief that Adam possessed a "Divine particle" which made him worthy of the worship of the angels. A similar conception—the "Divine Element" inherent in Adam as the immediate creation of God, passing through the pious descendants of¹⁵ Adam to Jacob and through him to the Jewish nation—is the basis of Jehuda Halevi's (twelfth century) philosophical system in his *Kusari* (Book I, § 47, 95).—From Adam to Muhammed there were seven prophets (comp. p. 127¹⁵). This number of prophets occurs very frequently in connection with Shiitic sects,²⁰ see p. 89 f.; p. 79⁰ (the Karmatians); p. 127 (the Nuṣayriyya); Blochet 56 (the Ismā'iliyya). The origin of this conception goes back to the Pseudo-Clementines, see p. 85²⁶ ff.

- L. 5. It is possible that here, too, the number seven is intended. Ja'far is the seventh prophet beginning with²⁵ Muhammed.—Zeid. fol. 104^a designates as Rawāfiḍ pure and simple those who pass the Imāmate down to Ja'far: *وصف*

آخر قادوا الوصية الى جعفر بن محمد وزعموا ان الوصية انتهت اليه وهم الروافض. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq occupies a central position among the Shi'a. He is called *جعفر بزرگ* "the Great Ja'far"

- ³⁰ by the Persian theologians (Blochet 53, note 1) and his name permanently figures in Shiitic literature as authority for everything that bears on religious doctrine. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunna. Typical of this unique position of

Ja'far is the anecdote told by Isfr. fol. 16^a: *حكى ائهم (يعنى*

- ³⁵ *الروافض) لما رآوا المجاحظ يتوسع في التصانيف ويصنف لكل*

[68] فَرِيقٌ¹ قَالَتْ الرُّوَافِضُ صَنَّفَ لَنَا كِتَابًا فَقَالَ لَهُمْ لَسْتُ أَرَى لَكُمْ شُبْهَةً حَتَّى ارْتَبَهَا وَاتَصَرَّفَ فِيهَا فَقَالُوا لَهُ إِذَا دَلَّنَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ نَتَمَسَّكَ بِهِ فَقَالَ لَا أَرَى لَكُمْ وَجْهًا إِلَّا أَتَاكُمْ إِذَا أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تَقُولُوا (sic) شَيْئًا تَزْعُمُونَهُ² تَقُولُونَ (sic) أَنَّهُ قَوْلُ جَعْفَرِ الصَّادِقِ لَا أَعْرِفُ لَكُمْ شَيْئًا تَسْنُدُونَ (فتندون Ms.) إِلَيْهِ غَيْرَ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ³ فَتَمَسَّكُوا بِجَهْلِهِمْ وَغَبَاوَتِهِمْ بِهَذِهِ السَّوْءَةِ الَّتِي دَلَّاهُمْ عَلَيْهَا فَكَلَّمَا أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَخْتَلِقُوا بِدَعَاٍ وَيَخْتَرِصُوا كَذِبَةً نَسَبُوهَا إِلَى ذَلِكَ السَّيِّدِ الصَّادِقِ.

The purpose of this Sunnitic invention is plain. It is meant to ridicule the constant references of the Shiites to the authority¹⁰ of Ja'far (see the passages in the Index to this treatise s.v. Ja'far). But it also shows the great esteem in which Ja'far was held even by the orthodox.

The knowledge of mystic lore with which the Shiites credit all their Imams is attributed in even a higher degree to Ja'far.¹⁵ Zeid, 101^b defines this belief in the omniscience of the Imams

وَكُلُّ مَنْ قَالَ بِجَعْفَرٍ مِنْ
الرُّوَافِضِ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ يُخْلَقُ عَالِمًا وَطَبَّعَهُ الْعِلْمُ وَالْعِلْمُ
مُطْبُوعٌ فِيهِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ يَعْلَمُ الْغَيْبَ وَيَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نُحُومِ
الْأَرْضِينَ السَّابِغَةِ السُّفْلَى وَمَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ السَّابِغَةِ الْعُلْيَا وَمَا فِي
الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ وَاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ عِنْدَهُ تَجَرَّى وَاحِدًا (واحدٌ read).

It is interesting to note that the more moderate among the Shiites oppose this extravagant belief in Ja'far's omniscience and they quote Ja'far himself as indignantly protesting against it. When Ja'far was told that people believed that he knew²⁵

¹ See page 56³⁴ f.

² زَعَمٌ with the by-meaning of "telling a lie," see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 51.

[68] "hidden things" (الغيب), he passionately exclaimed: "Praise unto Allah! Put thy hand on my head! By Allah, there is not a single hair on my body which does not stand on edge!" (Kashi 196).

5 An outgrowth of this conception is the peculiar belief in the existence of a mystic book called "Jafr" containing a record of all past and future events "from Creation to Resurrection",¹ the authorship of which was assigned to Ja'far. This mysterious volume with the mysterious name² plays an important part
10 in the development of the Shi'a. See on this book, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 115 f., van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, 54 f., IKhald. II, 184 f. Bagd's remarks on the subject (fol. 99^a) are worthy of reproduction: وَمِنْ أَعْجَبِ الْأَشْيَاءِ أَنَّ الْخَطَابِيَّةَ³ زَعَمَتْ أَنَّ جَعْفَرَ

الصادق قَدْ أَوْدَعَهُمْ جِلْدًا فِيهِ عِلْمٌ كُلُّ مَا يَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ

عِلْمِ الْغَيْبِ⁴ وَسَمَّوْا ذَلِكَ الْجِلْدَ جَعْفَرًا وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّهُ لَا يَقْرَأُ (يَقْرَأُ 15 (Ms.

مَا فِيهِ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ هَارُونُ بْنُ سَعْدِ الْعِجَلِيِّ

فِي شِعْرِهِ وَقَالَ⁵ [الطويل]

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ الرَّافِضِينَ تَفَرَّقَتْ * فَكُلُّهُمْ مِنْ جَعْفَرٍ قَالَ مُنْكَرًا ..
وَمِنْ عَجَبٍ لَمْ أَقْضِهِ جِلْدُ جَعْفَرٍ * بَرِئْتُ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ مِمَّنْ تَجْعَفَرًا

¹ Comp. Blochet, p. 13. There was a white and a red "Jafr," ib.

² IKhald. II, 184 maintains that "Jafr" signifies dialectically "small" and that the book was so called because it was written on the hide of a small (young) ox. According to *Tāj al-'Arūs*, the word signifies sheep in the first few months of life. Neither explanation is in any way satisfactory. The real meaning of the word was evidently early forgotten. Van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 56, note 6 is inclined to regard it as a foreign word and to connect it with Greek γραφή. I am rather inclined to think that Jafr is merely a variation of Ja'far to whom it is assigned. [I have since noticed that Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 456 n. 5, incidentally gives the same explanation.]

³ See Text, p. 68, l. 6.

⁴ Comp. Makr. 352¹⁶.

⁵ The verses are quoted anonymously IKhall. No. 419. The authorship of Hārūn b. Sa'd (Kashi 151, Sa'id) is rather precarious, for it is he who is mentioned IKhald. II, 184 as the Rāwī of this book. (He is designated in the same passage as the head of the Zeidiyya.)

— L. 8 ff. The episode presupposes the allegorical method [68] of Koran interpretation current in Shiitic circles which explains the religious prohibitions as the names of persons and brings all religious commands in relation to the Imam, see Text, p. 35, and Comm. p. 14¹⁰ ff. It is obvious that the Hajj precept, if for 5 no other than political reasons, had to succumb to the same allegorical transformation¹ and to become a mere “going to the Imam” (Text, p. 35¹¹). Accordingly, the Ġulât of Kufa arrange a regular hajj to Ja‘far with all due requisites, including attire and religious exclamations (Labbaika Ja‘far, l. 10).—An inter- 10 esting parallel to this story is the incident related Agh. XV, 121. The Ja‘fariyya (as is evident from XIX, 58, identical with the Muġiriyya, the adherents of Muġira b. Sa‘id, Comm. p. 80) rebelled against Khâlid b. ‘Abdallah al-Ķaṣrî, the wâlî of Kufa (Comm. 79³⁵), “and they came out in short trousers,² shouting: 15 ‘with thee (“labbaika”) o Ja‘far! with thee, o Ja‘far!’” At first sight one might feel inclined to identify the two stories. But chronological considerations stand in the way of this identification. For the rebellion of Muġira took place in 119 (Tab. II,

¹ How anxious the Shiitic leaders were to abolish the hajj to Mekka, the center of Sunnitic Islam, can be inferred from the pregnant utterance of Abû Ja‘far aṭ-Ṭûsî (the author of *List of Shy‘ah books*, died

459/1060) quoted by Mirza. fol. 65^b: **وَمِنْ هَفَوَاتِهِمُ الْحَنْثَةُ أَنْ شَيْخَهُمْ**

ابو (ابا) جعفر الطوسي ذكر في كتاب المطابع وغيره في ان
زيارة الحسين رضي الله عنه نَعَادِلَ ثَوَابَ مَائَةِ الْفِ نَبِيٍّ وَاتِّهَا
افضل عند الله من مائة الف حج ومائة الف عُمْرَةَ ومائة الف
غَزْوَةٍ كانت مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.

² **تَبَائِيْنُ** pl. of **تَبَانٌ** small breeches “without legs such as to conceal the anterior and posterior pudenda” (Lane), indeed a sort of sans culottes. It was the dress of the Mawâlî, van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 70, note 2.—Prof. Nöldeke is inclined to take it as the plural of **تَبَانٌ** and to translate **(فِي سَوْقِ التَّبَنِ)** **فِي التَّبَائِيْنِ** “on the market of the Strawdealers.”

[68] 1619 f.), while the story related in our text plays in the beginning of the Abbasside period. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 97, note 1 is sceptical with reference to the hajj incident told in Agh. But it is not only supported by I. H.'s account. The general character of the Ultra-Shiitic tenets makes an incident of this sort quite probable.

— L. 11. Abû Bekr Ibn 'Ayâsh died in 193, *IAth.* VII, 153;

Dahabî, *Iluffâz* VI, 20.¹ The words كَانِي أَنْظُرَ إِلَيْهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ

I take (with a great deal of reserve) to indicate that he remembers the incident so vividly, as if it were before his eyes. Ibn 'Ayâsh probably narrated the incident long after it passed. He died 193, while 'Îsa b. Mûsa, who fought against the sectarians, died in 167.

— L. 17. See Comm. 19³². Muhammed b. Ismâ'il is the seventh Imam beginning with Adam, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 168; comp. Comm. p. 104.

— L. 19. Al-Hasan b. Bahrâm was the head of the Kar-matians of Bahrein. He was killed by his servant in 301, *IKhall.* No. 186, p. 122; Tab. III, 2291.—The reading الجبائى (n. 6) is found elsewhere, see de Goeje, *Carmathes* 111, note 3.

The name al-Jannâbî comes from Jannâba, a small place on the coast of the Persian Gulf, opposite the island Khârak, Yakut II, 122. *IKhall.* ibidem and No. 650, p. 40, maintains that Jannâba is a place near Bahrein. Yakut, however, brands this assumption as a gross error.

— Note 7. The form كسر as given in Codd. does not necessarily represent the consonants KSR. The middle letter may stand for a great many combinations of consonants with diacritical points which it is impossible to make out. The man himself is no doubt identical with "the Işbahanian," de Goeje, *Carmathes* 129 ff. He managed to pass as a saint in the eyes of Abû Tâhir, the son of Abû Sa'id (see preceding note), who believed in him and paid him Divine honors. He carried him about in a tent so as to hide him from the gaze of the multi-

¹ *IAth.*, who gives the exact pronunciation, has no Tashdîd. Yet, عتاش is frequently found, see, e. g., Tab. III, 2508¹. Goldziher, *Zakiriten*, p. 3, writes "'Ajâs," the same ZDMG. 50, 492 "'Ajjâs."

tude (Arib, p. 162). Ultimately, however, he was found out [68] and then killed by Abû Tâhir's sons. IATH. VIII, 263 f. places these events in 326, de Goeje in 319.—The same man is unquestionably identical with "the Işbahanian," briefly mentioned by Ibn Adhari, ed. Dozy I, 232: "Abû 'Obeid (read Abû Sa'id) al-Jannâbi . . . advocated publicly adultery, unnatural vice, lying, wine drinking and the omission of prayer. Similarly to it acted the Işbahanian (الاصبهاني)." Masudi, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, 391¹⁶ describes him as "the young man (الغلام) known as az-Zakârî, one of the descendants of the Persian kings of the lands of Işbahân." The other sources also give his first name, but in so many forms that it is impossible to make out the correct form; comp. de Goeje, *ibidem*.

—L. 20 and note 8. The man spoken of here is usually designated as Ibn Haushab; comp. IKhald. II, 185.¹ The other 15 names differ widely in the various sources. The nearest to I. II. is Makr.: Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Hasan (or al-Husein) b. Faraj b. Haushab al-Kûfi (de Sacy, cclv note). IATH. VIII, 22, Abulfeda and Bibars Manşûri (quoted de Sacy, *ib.*) call him Rustem b. Husein b. Haushab b. Zādān (IATH. داذان) an-Najjār. 20 Nuweiri again (quoted de Sacy, p. cccxliv) has Abû 'l-Husein Rustem b. Karhūn b. Haushab b. Dādān an-Najjār. Dastūr al-Munajjimīn (de Goeje, *Carpathes* 204³) gives Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Faraj b. al-Hasan b. Haushab b. Zādān.—The reason for this vacillation lies in the fact recorded, though, it seems, no more 25 understood, by I. II. that he "was called al-Manşūr." Al-Manşūr was the title of the Karmatian Missionary-in-chief which approached in significance that of the Mahdī.² There was a Manşūr al-Baḥrein as well as a Manşūr al-Yemen who is referred to here; see de Goeje *ib.*, p. 170, n. 1, 204³.—Ibn 30 Haushab made his public appearance in Yemen in 270, de Goeje *ib.* 204³. Abû 'Abdallah ash-Shirī (p. 75¹⁰) was one of the best officers of Ibn Haushab (Blochet, 70), to whom he had been sent by 'Ubeidallah and Muhammed al-Habib (IKhald. II, 185, in the name of Ibn ar-Rakīk, d. 340/952). On the death of 35

¹ Blochet 70 erroneously transcribes Abur'l Kasem ibn Djoushem (*sic*).

² On Manşūr as the title of the Mahdī (Messiah) see Goldziher, ZDMG. 56, 411; van Vloten. *Chittisme*, p. 61; de Goeje, *ib.* p. 73.

[68] Halwâni and Abû Sufyân, the Karmatian missionaries in Maghrib, Ibn Haushab dispatched him to that country (Makr. II, 10⁴ ff., Blochet ib.).¹

— Note 8, l. 3-4. 'Ali b. al-Faḍl (al-Janadî from the province Janad' in Yemen, Ed. II, 38²³, see Comm. p. 17²) was the Janâh (a Karmatian technical term designating a sort of aide-de-camp) of Ibn Haushab and accompanied him to Aden La'a, de Goeje *ib.* 204⁷. The latter gives his name, similarly to I. H., as Ali. Otherwise he is called Muhammed, e. g., Istakhri 24,² 10 de Sacy cclv. Nuweirî (quoted de Sacy cccclvi) has Abû'l-Kheir Muhammed b. al-Faḍl, comp. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 510, Müller, *Islam* I, 595. The Banû Ziyâd traced back their origin to Ziyâd, who pretended to be a son of Abû Sufyân and was afterwards acknowledged as brother by 15 Mu'awiya, IKot. 176. They were settled in Zebîd. The Du-Manâkh lived in the neighborhood of Aden, Yakut IV, 472.

— Note 8, l. 5. البوراني is most probably identical with البوراني, mentioned de Sacy ccx. I quote this passage, as it is of great significance in connection with I. H.'s text. "En 20 année 295 un nouvel imposteur, nommé Abou Khatem, établit une secte particulière parmi certain Karmates du Sawad que l'on nommait Bourahijja, du nom de leur Daï Bourani (البوراني). Abou Khatem interdisait à ses disciples l'ail, le poireau et les raves³ . . . Cette espèce de Karmates fut nommée Nakalijja

¹ النجار الكومي Ibn Adhârî I, 292 is probably identical with Ibn Haushab. Read الكوفي.—It is possible that على النجار, who is mentioned Comm. 17² among the Karmatian missionaries immediately before 'Ali b. al-Faḍl (see next note), is identical with our man.—أبو عبد الله العجاني (ib.) is perhaps identical with Abû 'Abdallah ash-Shi'î.

² The variant in note n حين تغلب على القرمطي, instead of عليه, may be due to the difference in name.

³ See above page 76¹⁰. A certain Mu'tazilite بكسر بن prohibited garlick and onions, Isfr. 48⁶. On the prohibition of certain vegetables, see Chwolson, *Ssabier*, II, 10, 109 ff.

(النقلية).” The name Bûrânî does not occur elsewhere,¹ but [68] Nakaliyya is found in various forms. Arib (ed. de Goeje) p. 137 (anno 316) speaks of the Karmatians known (sic) بالنقلية بسواد الفرات. As one of their leaders is mentioned a certain حُرَيْث بن مسعود, who is no doubt identical with حُرَيْث بن مسعود I Ath. VIII, 136 (also anno 316). Interesting is Mas’ûdî’s remark (*Tunbîh* 391⁵): he had already mentioned in former works أخبار القرامطة البقلية (sic, see note e) الكوفة وغلَّبَتْهُمْ عَلَيْهَا وَذَلِكَ فِي سَنَةِ ٣١٩ وَالْعَلَّةُ فِي تَسْمِيَّتِهِمُ الْبَقْلِيَّةُ وهو اسم دِيَانِي عَنْدهُمْ وَكَانَ رُؤَسَاءَهُمْ مسعود بن حُرَيْث الح. comp. de Goeje ib. p. 99. I consider the reading Bakliyya the only correct one, as it no doubt stands in some relation to the prohibition of certain vegetables (بَقْل) recorded by de Sacy. The connection, assumed in the glossary to Mas’ûdî’s *Tunbîh* (s. v. بقلية), between this sect and a certain al-Baklî (Agh. XI, ٦٥¹², see Comm. p. 46²) is impossible. Both material and chronological discrepancies (anno 129—anno 316) speak against the identification.

69, l. 1. On ‘Ubeidallah and the rise of the Fatimides see [69] the detailed accounts by de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 5 ff. (the larger part of the essay bearing on this subject), Blochet, p. 77 ff.

— L. 4. The Khaṭṭābiyya and the numerous factions belonging to it are frequently mentioned by I. H. (see Index). The name of the founder as given by I. H. is found Fih. 186 ult., Shahr. 136, I Ath. VIII, 21. Kāshī, who devotes a very long article to him (pp. 187–199), calls him Muhammad b. Abi

¹ Perhaps حاتم بن محمد بن حاتم الباراني from Bārān, one of the towns of Merv (Yakut I, 462), may be the same man.—*Lubb al-Lubāb* explains إِلَى عَمَلِ الْبَوَارِيِّ مِنَ الْقَصَبِ الْبَوْرَانِيِّ as referring وَنَحْوِهِ. In the Appendix sub hac voce the editor remarks: “In separato articulo agit Ibn al-Athīr de الْبَوْرَانِيِّ, quae est alia tantum eiusdem nominis forma.” I have not been able to locate the passage in I Ath.

[69] Zeinab, but adds that his name was **مقلاص بن ابي الخطاب** **البراد الاجدع الأسدي ويكنى ابا اسماعيل ويكنى ايضا ابا محمد بن ابي** (p. 187). Makr. 352³ gives his name as **ابى** **ثور**, or **ابى يزيد**; the latter Kunya is declared to be correct by de Sacy ccccxl, note 2. Zeid. fol. 104^v differs from all other authorities in calling him al-Haṭṭāb (with soft ح under the line and without Abū): **وَصَنَّفَ آخَرُ يَقَالُ لَهُمُ الْخَطَّابِيَّةُ**: **زَعَمُوا أَنَّ الْإِمَامَةَ انْتَقَلَتْ مِنْ جَعْفَرٍ إِلَى الْخَطَّابِ وَالْخَطَّابِ خَلِيفَةُ جَعْفَرٍ وَوَصِيَّهُ وَجَعْفَرٌ عَائِبٌ (غَائِبٌ) حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ**¹.

10 The Khaṭṭābiyya occupy a commanding position in heterodox Islam. Makr. 352⁴ estimates their subdivisions at no less than fifty. Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb is designated as the originator of the allegorical method of Koran interpretation, see p. 14. IKot. 300, on the other hand, confesses to know nothing about him, except that he permitted perjury against the opponents of his sect² as well as murder and adultery. The latter is also attributed to him by other writers.

The central point of the Khaṭṭābiyya doctrine is the worship of Ja'far. They claimed to be in possession of his mystic work 20 "Jafr," see p. 106. *Fihr.* 186 ult. ascribes to him the belief in the divinity of Ali. But this appears to be correct only in so far as he regarded all the Imams as higher Divine beings. According to Shahr. and Isfr. (56^b), he claimed prophecy only when Ja'far had withdrawn from him. Zeid. (ib.) however 25 maintains that he asserted his claims only after Ja'far's death, pretending to have been designated by him as his successor.³

¹ On Raj'a see p. 23 ff.

² See Makr. 352³.—Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 60, 222.

³ Isfr. 56^b and Makr. 352⁵ assign to the Khaṭṭābiyya the belief in a "speaking" and "silent" Imam (Naṭīq and Ṣāmī), a conception which is of such incisive importance in the propaganda of the Bāṭiniyya. One might feel reluctant to admit the existence of this belief at so early a period. But *Fihr.*, too, assumes a connection between the Khaṭṭābiyya and the Meimūniyya, the party of Meimūn al-Qaddāh, the originator of the Bāṭiniyya movement. Comp. de Sacy, ccccxli.

The orthodox Imamites are anxious to get rid of this unpleasant partnership. Hence the numerous utterances put into the mouth of Ja'far which curse Abû'l-Khaṭṭāb (Kāshī repeatedly, see esp. p. 195) and declare those who follow him to be worse than "Jews, Christians, Magians and heathens" (p. 192, 194; 5 in the year 138, p. 191 below). They maintain that Abû'l-Khaṭṭāb told lies about Ja'far (ib. 195, 146) and that his adherents "to this very day smuggle these traditions into the books of the adherents of Abû 'Abdallāh (i. e., Ja'far)" (ib. 146).—

Abû'l-Khaṭṭāb was crucified in Kufa by 'Īsā b. Mūsā (d. 167), Shahr. ib., Isfr. 56^b.

— L. 7. Comp. Ijī 346 (read *ابا لکن ابو*) *وجعفر الصادق إله لکن ابو* *الخطاب افضل منه*, similarly Bagd. 99^b, Isfr. 56^b.

— L. 9 f. *وَأَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحِبَّائُهُ* is quoted Koran 5, 21 as the pretension of the Jews and Christians. According to Shahr., Abû'l-Khaṭṭāb applied this expression to the ancestors of Ja'far, i. e., to the Huseinids only. Makr. (352^o) states that he believed that "the Imams were like Ali and that his (i. e., Ali's) children were all prophets." More distinctly Ijī ib.: *الْأَيُّمَةُ آلِ هَيْدَرٍ* 20

دَعَاها 99^b *وَالْحَسَنَانِ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ*, and quite unequivocally Bagd. 99^b *إِنَّ الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ وَأَوْلَادَهُمَا أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحِبَّائُهُ*. Our text accordingly cannot be correct. On the basis of the above statements I have inserted the name of al-Husein. I read either *الْحَسَنَيْنِ* or, perhaps more acceptably, *الْحُسَيْنَيْنِ*. 25

— L. 11. This strange belief was widespread in these circles, see p. 72^o. Thus the Mu'ammariyya (p. 114¹¹) believed that "men do not die but their spirits are lifted up into other (men?)" (Makr. 352^o). This is evidently the belief in Transmigration. Philosophically tinged is the opinion of the Bāzīgīyya "that the man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died" (p. 96¹¹).

- [69] — L. 12. Instead of the translation offered in the text, which conveys no proper meaning, I would suggest to punctuate the Arabic phrase Ed. IV, 187¹⁴ in the following manner:

“^٥واشبه^٥ على الناس بهذا الشيخ^٥ الذى ترون

5 in the opinion of men regarding this (the claim not to die and to be lifted up to heaven) is the Sheikh whom you see (i. e., Abû'l-Khattâb).” In other words, if anyone, then it is Abû'l-Khattâb who has no chance to get to heaven. L Br (note 5) read

دشبه^٥. Perhaps in Ed., too, اشيء is to be corrected into اشتبه.

- 10 The two readings would then coincide.¹

— L. 14. On the Mu‘ammariyya see Shahr. 137, Makr. 352⁷ (who agrees with him verbatim). This Mu‘ammar is possibly

identical with the Mu‘tazilite معمر بن عباد السلمى Makr.

- 347²⁴, Iji 340, who expresses similar opinions, and with Mu‘am-
15 mar who advocates the Imamate of ‘Abdallah, the son of Ja‘far
aṣ-Ṣâdiq, Makr. 351³⁰. The latter view is assigned by Shahr.
126 to the Aftahiyya sect, which derives its name from al-
Aftah, the by-name of ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far. The name of the
founder is omitted.

- 20 — L. 18. Abû Muġīth (Tab. III, 2289, Abû Muhammed) al-
Ḥusein b. Mansûr al-Ḥallâj, whose grandfather is said to have
been a Magian (Zoroastrian), came from the town Beidâ in
Fâris. He was executed in 309/922 during the reign of al-
Muktadir and his ashes were strewn in the Tigris. His adher-
25 ents considered this the cause of the rise of the Tigris in that
year. Many expected that he would return to life after forty
days (comp. p. 23²⁷), asserting that it was not Ḥallâj who was
executed but an enemy of his on whom he had pressed his own
features, IKhall. 186, see Comm. 30¹². He exercised a powerful
30 influence not only on his own age but on posterity as well. He
had numerous admirers among orthodox Muhammedans (Bagd.

¹ One thinks of Makr.’s words (352¹⁰) in his account on the Bazîġiyya that Ja‘far was a god ^٥رئيس هو الذى يتراه الناس وانما تشبه على الناس. But I do not know how to bring this meaning into I. H.’s sentence.

101^a)¹ and even among non-Muhammedans.² See on Ḥallāj, [69] *Fih.* 190¹⁴ ff. (with a list of his writings), Arib (ed. de Goeje) 86 ff., Bagd. 101^a, Isfr. 60^a f. (an extract from the latter, Haarbrücker II, 417), Dozy, *Isl.* 324 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 70 f., 130 note 26.

— L. 19. IKhall. No. 186 similarly has Ḥamid (not *Ibn* Ḥ., note 9). He died 311.

— L. 22. The by-name of this sectarian is usually given as الشَّلْمَغَانِي, from Shalmaḡān, a town in the neighborhood of Wāsiṭ, IATH. VIII, 216, Yakut III, 314. It is evident that I. H. took the name Shalmaḡān to be that of a person (see also note 10). Similarly IKhall. No. 186, p. 129 has *Ibn* ash-Shalmaḡānī. Interesting in this connection is Yakut's remark (ib.): "ash-Shalmaḡān is the name of a man; possibly this town derives its name from him. But it is a mistake." He admits, however, that elsewhere this word is found as a personal name, as can be confirmed by a verse of al-Buḥturī. Aside from الشَّلْمَغَانِي, we also find السَّلْمَعَانِي, *Fih.* 176²³, note 13 (this coincides with the reading of A, note 10 of our text) and السَّلْمَقَانِي Bagd. 102^a.—I. H. is the only one who designates him as Kātib. Perhaps this is due to a confusion with the Kātib mentioned soon afterwards (Text, p. 70, note 2, l. 5).

The reading الفَرَاقِد (note 11) is confirmed by the variant فَرَاقِين, IKhall. No. 186, p. 129. The vast majority of writers,

¹ I. H. quotes him repeatedly as the type of a miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I. 109²¹, 110¹¹; he ridicules (V. 117¹³) the "adherents of Incarnation and the extremists among the Rāfiḍa" who believe that people like Ḥallāj, اِبْن اَبِي الْعَرَافِ (probably abbreviation for اِبْن اَبِي الْعَرَافِ, see Comm. 116 n. 1) and others are Divine beings, while they sit in their company, discharge the lowest human functions and exhibit human desires.

² See a poem of his transcribed in Hebrew characters published by Hirschfeld, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 15 (1903), p. 176, 180 f. I myself found in the Oxford Genizah (Ms. Hebr. d 57) a poem of a similar nature in Hebrew characters with the superscription **الحلاج رضى الله عنه**. (He plainly says there **الله انا**.)

[69] however, give him the *Kunya* العزاقير.¹ Bagd. 91^a, 102^a and Isfr. 61^b call his adherents العزاقرة. I Ath. VIII, 216 reads اقزاقير. Masudi III, 267 has ابو الغزائر.

The cardinal point of ash-Shalmagâni's doctrine is the theory of the "Aḍḍād" (Contrasts), the simultaneous revelation of God in a good and evil principle. Thus, e. g., he revealed himself first in Adam and Iblis, etc.² He called Moses and Muhammed impostors, because they merely were the apostles of Aron and Ali respectively and usurped a dignity to which they were not entitled. I Ath. and Abulfeda II, 382, from whom I have drawn this information, point out the resemblance between this doctrine and that of the Nuṣeiriyya (p. 126 f.), suggesting that they are identical.

On ash-Shalmagâni see also *Fihrist*. 176²³, 147²², 196¹⁹, de Slane's English translation of IKallikan I, 439, note 18 (a biography extracted from Dahabî's *Tu'rikh al-Islâm*), de Sacy CCXLII, Kremer, *Ideen* 75 ff.

Worthy of note is the relation of the official Shi'a to this heretic. Tusy allots him some space in his work (p. 305, No. 20 662), but cautiously adds كان مستقيم الطريق ثم تغيّر. Mirza fol. 55^b rebukes the Imamites for this ambiguous attitude:

ومن الطرائف أنّهم نقلوا في كتب أصحابهم من محمد بن علي الشلمغاني الفضايري (sic) وأمثاله وأشباهه أحاديث متكثرة وذمّوها في كتب رجالهم غاية الذمّ حتى انه قال الجليّ³ في

¹ ابن العزاقير is, of course, a variant of الفزاقير. If Ed. V 117¹⁴ ابن العزاقير stands for ابن ابي العزاقير, then this would be the original form of the name and the difference between I. H. (note 11) and the other writers could be easily explained. I Ath. VIII, 372 calls him *Ibn Abîl-Karâkir*.

² This idea is clearly identical with the Syzygy doctrine taught in the Pseudo-Clementines, *Recognitiones* III, 59, 61; *Homilies*, II, 15; *Recogn.* III, 61 assumes ten such opposite pairs.

³ Died 726^b, Ḥajj Khalifa II. 194.

[69] خلاصة الرجال وابن داود¹ في رجاله ان الصادق قال في شأنه انه كذاب ملعون.

[70] واباح اللواط وزعم: 102^a: 70, l. 1 f. and note 1. Comp. Bagd. 102^a: 70, l. 1 f. and note 1. *انّ ايلاج الفاضل نورة في المفضل واباح اتباعه له حرّمهم طمعاً*

— He believed that the union in spirit is possible only through the union in flesh, de Sacy II, 572.

— Note 2, l. 2-4. Al-Husein b. 'Ubeidallah² was Vizier under al-Muḩtadir. I. H.'s assertion that he was killed conflicts with the statement of all other authorities that he renounced ash-Shalmaḡāni in time and thus saved his life. Bagd. reports¹⁰ that the Shafite and Malekite judges were of different opinion regarding the admissibility of his repentance, the former voting for, the latter against its acceptance.

— Note 2, l. 5. Ibrāhīm b. Aḡmad b. Muhammed b. Abi 'Aun (so Yakut III, 314; IKhallikan ib. omits Muhammed; ¹⁵

Bagd. ib. has *ابراهيم بن محمد بن احمد بن المتّحم*) was a writer of note, celebrated for the elegance of his style, Yakut, IKhall. Contrary to the vizier al-Husein (see preceding note), he refused to renounce ash-Shalmaḡāni and was crucified and then burned in the year 322. ²⁰

— L. 5. The same man is mentioned by I. H. as a typical sorcerer *Milal* V, fol. 62^a (Ed. I, 109²⁰ ff. as well as Cod. L leave the name out and differ considerably): *ومن هذا النوع كان سحرة فرعون وشناس (sic) البصريّ وسائر الكذّابين فقط*. See the variants in our text note 3. There is no means to decide ²⁵ which is the correct form.—This person seems to be identical with a man merely designated as *البصريّ* and dealt with by IAth. VIII, 372 (anno 340). He pretended that Ibn Abi'l Ḳarāḡir (see p. 116 n. 1) had embodied himself in him and he had then become the legitimate head of the Ḳarāḡiriyya. The ³⁰

¹ Comp. Brockelmann I, 406.

² The same form of the name also IKhall. 186, p. 129 (=de Slane's edition 224^b). IAth. VIII, 217, Abulfeda II, 382, Bagd. 102^a, Isfr. 61^b; only Tab. III. 2162⁷ has *Abū'l-Husein*.

[70] identification suggests itself the more readily, as in I. H.'s account he also follows immediately after ash-Shalmagānī.—The clause "in our time" is scarcely correct, as I. H. was born 384^h (died 456). The mistake, however, is excusable when we think
 5 of the distance between Cordova and Baṣra.

— L. 7. Abū Muslim, usually styled Ṣāhib ad-Daula, was born about 100^h and was assassinated at the command of Manṣūr about 140, IKhall. No. 382; IKot. 191 gives the year 137. The by-name السراج (as-Sirāj "Lamp" or, better, as-Sarrāj
 10 "Saddler"?) I found only in I. H. (Text here, 36¹¹, 45¹³).

Abū Muslim was dealt with *Text* 45¹³. Here I. H. records the additional belief in his divinity. According to Shahr. 114, it was the Rizāmiyya who advocated this belief. The founder of this sect, Rizām b. Sābik,² rose in Khorāsān during the lifetime
 15 of Abū Muslim. He maintained that Ali transferred the Imamate to Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya,³ who passed it over to Abū Hāshim, who, in turn, bequeathed it in writing to the Abbassides. At the same time he believed that Abū Muslim was an associate in the Imamate and an incarnation of the
 20 Divinity. Similarly Iji 347. Bagd. 100^a (and alike Isfr. 59^a) confine these doctrines to a fraction of the Rizāmiyya: ثم زعموا ان

الامامة بعد السقّاح صار (صارَت read) الى ابي مسلم وأقروا مع ذلك بقتل ابي مسلم وموته آلا فرقة منهم يقال لها ابو مسلميّة أفرطوا في ادعى مسلم غاية الإفراط وزعموا انه صار إلهاً بحلول روح
 25 الإله فيه وزعموا ان ابا مسلم خير من جبريل وميكائيل⁴ وسائر الملائكة وزعموا ايضا ان ابا مسلم حي لم يموت وهم على

¹ Makr. reads السروح, see Text ib. note 6.

² Instead of سابق Cureton's edition has a blank. It was apparently missing in his Ms. I have supplied the name from Makr. 353². Haarbrücker, p. 173, curiously translates: "Die Anhänger von Rizām, dem Sohne eines unbekannten Vaters"!

³ Hence their classification among the Keisāniyya.

⁴ The Bazigīyya (p. 95²⁴ ff.) believed "that some among them were better than Gabriel, Michael and Muhammed," Makr. 352¹¹.

[70] انتظاره وهؤلاء بمرّو وهرة يُعرفون بالمركوكة فإذا سئل هؤلاء

عن الذي قتله المنصور قالوا كان شيطاناً تصوّر للناس في صورة أبي مسلم¹ Masudi VI, 186, on the whole, agrees with this presentation: "When the (news of) the assassination of Abû Muslim reached Khorâsân and the other mountainous regions, the Khurramiyya (comp. the variants) became agitated. They are the party called Muslimiyya, which believed in Abû Muslim and in his Imamate . . . Some among them were of the opinion that he has not died nor would he ever die until he has appeared and filled the earth with justice." *Fihrr.* 344²⁷ ff. similarly¹⁰ describes the Muslimiyya as the sect which believed that Abû Muslim was alive (أنه حيٌّ يُرَقِّق, comp. Comm. 38¹³). He mentions particularly a certain Ishâk who acted in Transoxania as Abû Muslim's missionary, claiming that the latter was imprisoned in the mountains of ar-Rayy and that he would come forth at a certain time which was known to him only. Makr. 353² is not correct when he describes the Rizâmiyya as the party which passes the Imamate down to as-Saffâh and quite separately enumerates among the Râwandiyya (p. 121 ff.) the بسلامية (see footnote below) which transfers the Imamate from as-Saffâh to²⁰ Abû Muslim.²

¹ See p. 30¹⁰.

² Makr. 354² أبي سلمة صاحب دولة بني العباس, also l. 3, أبي سلمة is to be read instead of أبي سلمة.—de Sacy LIX connects the بسلامية with Abû Salma, Abû Muslim's general. But then it would be most surprising that Makr. mentions nothing about the worship of Abû Muslim and that the other sources again mention nothing about Abû Salma. Besides, Abû Salma would scarcely be styled "Sâhib ad-Daula." The proposed emendation removes these difficulties. The name of the sect البسلامية is either to be read البسلامية (as Masudi and Fihrist have) or to be explained as a contracted Nisba for أبو مسلمية (as Bagd. gives), e. g., عبّقسى from

عبد الشمس from عيشمى, عبد القيس from عيشمى, comp. Wright. *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3d ed.) I, § 264 Rem. b. True, this contraction does not exactly correspond with the examples given. I, p. 162 A. But one knows that the abstractions of the Arabic grammarians are of little avail, especially in the case of the Nisba endings.

[70] On Abû Muslim and his connection with Mazdaism, see Blochet 43 ff.

— L. 9. See also Text 36². The first name of al-Mukanna' is not certain. IKhall. No. 431 gives 'Aṭā and Ḥakīm respectively. The latter name is recorded Tab. III, 484¹⁵ and IATH. VI, 25. Ḥāshim (reading of L. Br, note 6) is also found Makr. 354³, while Bagd. 100³, perhaps correctly, calls him Ḥāshim b. Ḥakīm. He was from Merv (note 7), according to Bagd.

من اهل قَرْيَةٍ يُقال لها كَرْه كَيْمان دات. He was a fuller by profession, I. H., Bagd. Abulfeda II, 44, IATH. VI, 25 (read

قَصَّارًا instead of قَصِيرًا). He belonged to the Rizāmiyya (Shahr. 115, Bagd.) and believed in the divinity of Abû Muslim, regarding himself as his incarnation (IATH.). He committed suicide while besieged in his stronghold in 163. According to one version, he died through poison, Tab. III, 490¹⁰, IKhall. ib., Abulfeda ib., Dozy, *Isl.* 245 f. According to another (recorded by Bagd. and Isfr.), he threw himself into a burning furnace so that his adherents were unable to find his body and were therefore induced to believe that he had been lifted up to heaven. IATH. VI, 34 f. gives room to both versions. Bagd. 100^b (shorter Isfr. 60^a) adds the following interesting notice about the adherents of Mukanna' at the time of this writer:

وَأَتْبَاعُهُ الْيَوْمَ فِي جِبَالِ إِيلَاقٍ¹ أَكْثَرُهُ أَهْلُهَا وَلَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ مِنْ قُرَاهِمِ مَسْجِدٍ لَا يَصَلُّونَ فِيهِ وَلَكِنْ يَكْتُمُونَ² مُؤَدَّنًا يُوَدَّنُ فِيهِ وَهُمْ يَسْتَحْلُونَ الْمَيْتَةَ وَالْخَنَزِيرَ وَكُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ يَسْتَمْتَعُ بِامْرَأَةٍ غَيْرِهِ²⁵ وَإِنْ ظَفَرُوا بِمُسْلِمٍ لَمْ يَرَهُ الْمُوَدَّنَ الَّذِي فِي مَسْجِدِهِمْ قَتَلُوهُ وَأَخْفَوْهُ غَيْرَ أَنَّهُمْ مَقْهُورُونَ بِعَامَّةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي نَاحِيَتِهِمْ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى ذَلِكَ.

Very important is Bagd's statement (100^a) concerning his doctrine: وزعم لأتباعه انه هو الإله وانه قد كان تصوّر مرّة في

¹ On the border of Fargāna, Yakut I, 421.

² This word gives no sense. Isfr. has instead يستأجرون.

[70] صورة آدم ثم تصور في وقت آخر بصورة نوح وفي وقت آخر
 (then in بصورة ابراهيم ثم تصور في صور الأنبياء الى محمد الح
 ثم انه زعم انه في زمانه) Ali, his sons, finally in Abû Muslim
 الذى كان فيه قد تصور بصورة هاشم بن حكيم وكان اسمه هاشم
 5 بن حكيم وقال إني انما أنتقل في الصور لأن عبادى لا يطيقون
 رؤيتى في صورتى التى انا عليها ومن رأى احترق بنورى.

See on this doctrine p. 85²¹ ff.

— L. 13. Read Râwandiyya (with long â in the first syllable).

The name Râwandiyya is generally applied to the people who came in 141 or, according to another version, in 136 or 137, to 10 Hâshimiyya, then the capital of the Caliphate, to pay divine homage to the Caliph al-Mansûr, Tab. III, 129=IAth. V, 383; Dozy, *Isl.* 242; Kremer, *Ideen* 12; Müller, *Islam* I, 494; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 37 f.; van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 48. This application, however, is correct only in part. Originally, 15 it seems, the Râwandiyya were but a *political* party which assigned the Imamate to the Abbassides, just as other parties assigned it to the Omeyyads or Alides. Masudi repeatedly describes them as the شيعة ولد العباس who justified the transfer of the Imamate to the Abbassides on the basis of Koran 8, 76 20 and who hired the corruptible al-Jâhîz (d. 255/869) to write for them to order the book “Kitâb Imâmati waladî'l-‘Abbâs.” (Masudi VIII, 56.) The latter fact alone, which brings the Râwandiyya down to the third century H., suffices to show that the Râwandiyya, at least, chronologically, 25 extend far beyond the ill-fated “ġuluww” attempt in 141. It was only at a later time that the Râwandiyya claimed that the Imamate had been transferred to the Abbassides by a written will of Abû Hâshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (Masudi VIII, 58), thus appearing as a branch of the Keisâniyya. 30 Bagd. apparently holds the same view on this matter when, in formulating the orthodox doctrine of the Imamate, he adds (fol. 133^a): وقالوا (يعنى اهل السنة والجماعة) بامامة ابي بكر الصديق بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلاف قول من

[70] (sic) أَثْبَتَهَا لَعَلِّي وَحَدَّهٖ مِنْ الرَّاغِضَةِ وَخِلَافَ قَوْلِ الرَّوَنْدِيَّةِ

¹الَّذِينَ اثْبَتُوا إِمَامَةَ الْعَبَّاسِ بَعْدَهُ. Comp. also fol. 12^a.

I. II. expresses himself similarly Ed. IV. 90^{1a}: "Another party says: the Caliphate is only permissible in the children of al-
⁵Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This is the opinion of the Rāwandiyya."²

It was only a small group out of this large party which cherished extravagant ideas and, as the Muhammedan theologians would say, exaggerated concerning the 'Abbassides. This is
¹⁰still evident from Tab.'s statement III, 418¹⁰, that it was a certain man called Ablaḡ who arranged the attempt at the deification of Maṣṣūr and "called upon the Rāwandiyya to join him," in other words, used an already existing party for his special purposes.³

¹⁵The name of the sect is written رَوَنْدِيَّة Tab. ib.,⁴ I. II. and others; رَوَنْدِيَّة Bagd. and Isfr., and رِيَوَنْدِيَّة Suyūṭi, *Tu'rikh*, 263, which the English translator, p. 266 note, unjustifiedly, as will presently be seen, regards as incorrect. For it is the latter variant, reflected as well in the reading of Ed. Y.
²⁰(our text, note 9) and this page, note 2, which gives us the clue to the origin of the sect. As a matter of fact, the Rāwandiyya are unanimously connected by the Arabic authors with the province of Khorāsān, which was, as is well known, the centre of the Abbasside propaganda (Masudi VI, 54, Tab.
²⁵III, 82, 129¹⁵=I Ath. V, 383, comp. Abulfeda II, 13). A locality by the name of Rāwand, however, is unknown in that province. A place of that name is mentioned by Yakut II, 741 as being in the vicinity of *Isbahān*. Accordingly, Dozy, *Isl.* 242 and Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 38 (the latter quotes

¹بَعْدَهُ may refer to the Prophet or to Ali. The latter is more probable, for Masudi, too, tells us that they made an exception in the case of Ali.

²Cod. L. الزَوَيْدِيَّة, see later. Masudi VI, 26 says rather vaguely: "The Rāwandiyya (maintain) that the Imamate is permissible in the Kureish only."

³The view set forth in the text is in the main anticipated by de Sacy LV f. who similarly takes Mas'ūdī's statement as the point of departure.

⁴It is to be regretted that the editor omitted the variations of this name, which he declares (III, 82, note b) to be numerous.

also other views, note 1) seek the origin of this sect in that [10] region. But this view contradicts the express statements of the Arabic sources. Considering the variations of the name of this sect, I am inclined to place its origin in رَيَوَنْد, a region near Nisabûr, the capital of Khorâsân, Yakut II, 891, comp. *Lubb al-Lubâb* s. v., الريوندى. This conjecture is raised to certainty by the fact that IKhall. calls the very same region رَاوَنْد (No. 34, in the biography of يحيى الراوندى). In other words, رَاوَنْد and رَيَوَنْد are two various pronunciations of the same name which in Persian sounded Rêvend.¹ 10

Aside from this geographical explanation of the name, another derivation is found which must be discussed here. Isfr. 10^a, speaking of the succession of the Imamate after Abû Hâshim, remarks as follows: ثم قال قوم رجعت (يعنى الامامة) بعد ابى هاشم الى محمد (بن على؟ add) بن عبد الله بن عباس بوصية بن (بن) ابى هاشم له بها وهذا قول ابن (بن) (Ms. strike out) الراوندى وأتباعه. I combine this statement with the notice Makr. 351¹¹ (in his enumeration of the sects of the Rawâfiq) وقد اختلف الناس فى الامام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فذهب الجمهور الى انه ابو بكر . . . وقال العباسية والربوبية اتباع ابى هريرة الربوندى وقيل اتباع ابى العباس الربوبدى هو العباس بن عبد المطلب رضى الله عنه لأنه العم والوارث وهو أحق من ابن العم. I do not hesitate to read (الربوبدى and الربوبية instead of الريوندى and الريوندية) and, taking into account their identity in doctrine, to regard²⁵ them as one.

Examining our material as a whole, we are led to believe that there were two sects of this name: the one, properly so called, from Riwand in Khorâsân, appeared in the time of Abû

¹ De Sacy LVII recognized in part this relation.

- [70] Muslim and professed the extravagant doctrines set forth above; the other, called so after their founder or leader ar-Rāwandī, was a political party for which al-Jāhīz as late as in the third century composed his treatise in favor of the Abbasside claims⁵ to the Imamate.

Finally, attention may be called to another sect which stands in a peculiar relation to the Rāwandīyya. It is a remarkable fact that our sect which, as can be inferred from the above, is by no means insignificant, is mentioned neither by Shahr. nor Ijī nor Makr. In its stead we find the Rizāmiyya, credited with exactly the same views, as have been set forth above as those of the Rāwandīyya. And what is even more significant, the Baslamiyya (or Muslimīyya, see p. 119 n. 2), which worshipped Abū Muslim as a Divine incarnation and is counted among the Rāwandīyya (Makr. 353 ult.,—the only passage in which the name occurs—, Tab. III, 129¹²=IAth. V, 383; Bagd. 103^b:

(وَكذلك دَعَوَى قوم من الروندية في أبي مسلم), figures in the other sources among the Rizāmiyya (p. 118 f.). It is clear that the two sects are intimately connected with one another. One²⁰ feels naturally inclined to take them for one. The difference in the names and their derivations seem to speak against their identity.

— L. 15. See p. 100³² ff.

- [71] 71, l. 1. A great deal of confusion prevails with regard to²⁵ the name of this sectarian. The extant forms may be classified as follows: عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرث Text 37³, Makr. 362¹⁶ (quotation), Shahr. 112, Bagd. 12^a (*promiscue* عَمْرُو and عَمَر), Isfr. 10^a, Kashi 195¹¹; عبد الله بن الحرث Text 71, note 1 (reading of L Br), Kashi 188¹ (parallel to 195¹¹), Makr. quoted³⁰ by van Vloten, *Worgers* p. 61, note 8; عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرب (or حرب) Bagd. 97^a, Shahr. 112 ult., Text 37⁵ (reading of Y); عبد الله بن حرب Isfr. 56^b, Abu'l Maali 158; عبد الله بن الحرث Text 71, n. 1 (reading of Ed. Y). The name of the sect is written الحربية Bagd. 97^a, Abu'l-Maali 158, van³⁵ Vloten in his edition of *Mafātih al-'Ulām*, Leyden 1895, p. 6; الحربية *ib.* as a variant, Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worgers*, p.

61, n. 8,¹ Text 71¹⁷ (see note 12). Very interesting in this connection is Makr.'s notice quoted from a manuscript by van

Vloten, *Worgers* ib.: وَمِنْهُمْ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ أَتْبَاعُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ وَاسْمُ الْحَرْثِ سَلَمُ بْنُ مَسْعُودَ بْنِ خَالِدِ بْنِ أَشْرَمَ وَهُوَ مِنْ بَنِي الطَّمَحِ بْنِ الْحَرْبِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَةَ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَةَ بْنِ ثَوْرٍ⁵ ²بِـنِ مَرْتَعٍ. The notice is not quite clear, but this much can be

inferred from it that there is both الْحَرْثُ and الْحَرْبُ among 'Abdallah's ancestors who may be responsible for the variations and that the name of the sect does not, at least in this case, necessarily conform with the immediate ancestor of the founder.³ 10

Very peculiar is the notice Shahr. 113 that after 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya's death (comp. Text 71¹⁴) his adherents believed that his spirit was transferred to "Iṣḥāq b. Zeid b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣarī. *These are the Ḥārithiyya* who permit forbidden things and live the life of one who has no duties imposed on 15 him" (comp. de Sacy, II, 593). It would thus seem that the Ḥārithiyya are not identical with the Ḥarbiyya and represent but a later development of the Ḥarbiyya (or Kharbiyya).⁴

¹ Van Vloten is inclined to pronounce the name al-Kharibiyya to suit the metre. This is scarcely permissible considering that the word itself stands in the verse by emendation.

² The genealogical chain Marta'—Thaur—Mu'awiya—al-Ḥārith—Mu'awiya is found Wüstenfeld. *Tabellen*. 4²¹.

³ Comp. Goldziher. *ZDMG*. 61, 75 n. 2.

⁴ I have no means to ascertain whether the following passages have any bearing on this sect. although several points seem to suggest it:

Belâdorî, *Futûḥ al-Buldân*, ed. de Goeje, 295 penult. : الْحَرْبِيَّةُ تُسَمَّى : الى حرب بن عبد الله البلخي (see variants); 'Abu'l-Maḥâsin, Leyden 1855, I, 397 (anno 147): وَكَانَ بِهَا (يَعْنِي بِمَدِينَةِ تَفْلَيْسَ) حَرْبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الرَّبَوْنَدِيِّ الَّذِي تُنْسَبُ إِلَيْهِ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ بِبَغْدَادِ; IKhall.

No. 19, p. 30 (biography of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal): وَدُفِنَ بِمَقْبَرَةِ بَابِ حَرْبٍ وَبَابِ حَرْبٍ مَنْسُوبٌ إِلَى حَرْبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَحَدِ أَصْحَابِ أَبِي جَعْفَرِ الْمَنْصُورِ وَإِلَى حَرْبٍ هَذَا تُنْسَبُ الْكَلَّةُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ بِالْحَرْبِيَّةِ.

[71] According to Bagd. 97^a, ‘Abdallah adhered to the doctrine of Bayân that God embodies himself in the prophets and the Imams, claiming that the Divine spirit went over from Abû Hâshim to him; comp. Shahr. 112 penult.

⁵ — L. 4. On the number of prayers see the variants here and Text 37, n. 3. 17 is attested by most manuscripts, Makr. 362¹⁰ (quotation from I. H.), also in the notice quoted by van Vloten, *Worger* ib. Is 17 (7+10) a holy number? The “Greatest Name” is said to consist of 17 letters, p. 87²⁰.

¹⁰ — L. 6. The Şufriyya (or Şifriyya, see Haarbrücker, II, 406) is a very moderate Khârijite sect.

— L. 8. Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worger*, ib. expresses

himself similarly ورجع الى قول الصِّفْرِيةِ الخوارج فبَرئَ مِنْهُ اصْحَابُهُ والرجل ما 113¹ لما تاب وَبَقَوْا على كفرهم

¹⁵ كان يرجع الى عِلْمٍ وديانةٍ (Haarbrücker 170 “aber der Mann kehrte nicht zum Wissen und zur Religiosität zurück”) are impossible, both as regards contents and grammatical form (subject before verb, كان يرجع for a single action). What Shahr. meant to say is most probably, judging by the statements of I. H. and Makr., the exact reverse of it: that ‘Abdallah did return to (true) knowledge and religion, and was consequently deserted by his followers.

— L. 14. On ‘Abdallah b. Mu‘âwiya see Text 45¹⁵, Comm. 44¹¹ ff. and Wellhausen, *Opp.* 98 f.

²⁵ — L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between نَصْرِيَّة and نَصِيرِيَّة (see the readings note 15). The former is also found Abulfeda II, 388 (Isth. VIII, 220, which is his source, reads النصيرية), *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1385 (quotation from Iji; *ed.* Sörenson has النصيرية). This difference ³⁰ is of importance for the understanding of the origin of the sect, which is controversial; see de Sacy cLXXXIII, II 559 ff., Wolff, *Drusen* 214 ff. Abulfeda derives the name from the citadel Naşariyya and places the origin of the sect in the year 270/891. Nuşairiyya again is interpreted as a term of contempt: ³⁵ “little Christians,” ZDMG. III, 368 note. On the other hand, Guayard, “Un grand maître des Assassins,” *Journal*

Asiatique 1877, I, p. 349, derives the name from a man called [71] Muhammed b. Nuṣeir, an adherent of al-Ḥasan al-‘Askari (died 260), the eleventh Imam of the Imamiyya, Text 58⁷. The Catechism of the Druzes considers the founder of the Nuṣeiriyya a man named Nuṣeiri, Blochet 101. 5

The cardinal point of the Nuṣeiriyya doctrine is the deification of Ali. This accounts for the fact that they are considered by I. H. an outgrowth of the Sabā’iyya.—Ali, they believed, existed before the world was created, Shahr. 144. To the question “who has created us?” the modern Nuṣeiriyya cate-10 chism gives the reply: “Ali”, ZDMG. III, 302. In other words, Ali is the Demiurge, see p. 91. They believed in the simultaneous incarnation of God in a good and evil being (Shahr. 144, Iji 348), more exactly, in seven such successive incarnations; see the list of the seven incarnations, ZDMG. III, 303; on the 15 number seven see Index s.v. Seven. This theory strikingly resembles ash-Shalmaḡāni’s doctrine of the Addād, p. 116³. Muhammed was Ali’s apostle and was sent to bring mankind to his recognition, ZDMG. III, 302.

The Nuṣeiriyya are closely related to the Ishākiyya (p. 102¹⁵). ²⁰ They are mentioned together, Shahr. 143, Iji 21, 348. Yakut III, 275, appears to identify them. He says briefly of ash-Shorṭa, a district near Wāsīt, **اهلها كلها اشحاقية نصيرية**.

72, l. 1. Instead of “army” read “district.” **جُنْدَة**, pl. [72] **أَجْنَاد**, originally “army district,” became afterwards a pure ²⁵ geographical designation. The Jordan district with Tiberias as capital corresponds to the Roman province Palestina Secunda (Prof. Nöldeke in a private communication).—I have found no reference to this occupation of Palestine by the Nuṣeiriyya outside of I. H.

—I. 2 ff. Yakut probably refers to the same fact when he ³⁰ says, referring to them (II, 338, sub voce **حِمَص**) **أَصْلُهُمُ الْإِمَامِيَّةُ**

يَسْبُونُ السَّلَفَ.—The reason for their hatred of Fātima and her children lies probably in their conception of Ali as Divine being, who, as such, can have neither wife nor children. Abu’l ³⁵ Maali 158 enumerates among the Ḡāliya a sect Azdariyya: “They say that he who was the father of Ḥasan and Ḥusein was

[72] not the (real) Ali. He was rather a man called Ali al-Azdari. But the Ali who is an Imam has no children, as he is the Creator." I. H.'s statement contradicts the assertion of Shahr. 144⁵ (comp. Haarbrücker II, 413), Iji 21, 348, see de Sacy II, 559, that the Nuṣeiriyya (and Ishākiyya) worshipped the children of Ali as well. The modern Nuṣeiriyya catechism (ZDMG. III, 305) also recognizes this relationship of Ali in his capacity as man.

— L. 8. This is a reflex of the belief in Docetism, p. 30.

10 — L. 13. In his polemic against the Sabā'iyya, who believe that a devil was killed in Ali's stead, Isfr. 56⁴ uses the same argument: **ويزعمون انّ الذی قتلہ ابن ملجم کان شیطاناً ومَنْ قتل شیطاناً کان محموداً فكيف يلعنوه**.

[73] 73, note 2. The addition in L. Br is characteristic of I. H.'s
15 Zāhirite standpoint.

— L. 3. See Text p. 34¹¹ and Comm. p. 13¹¹ ff.

— L. 4. The words enclosed in quotation marks make the impression of a citation from some Ṣūfī author. Perhaps it would have been more correct to translate بعض as "one":
20 "one of them adds."

— L. 6 f. The name of this Ṣūfī is Abū Sa'īd Abū'l-Kheir, as I. H. expressly states, with two kunyas joined together; de Sacy, *Journal des Savants* 1821, p. 725 gives the same form of the name. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*,
25 New York 1906, writes consistently Abū Sa'īd *bnu* Abī'l-Kheir (see passages in his index). The same Dozy, *Isl.* 320, Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* I, 186, note 3 (from Ibn Abī Uṣṣeibi'a, ed. Müller II, 9¹⁷).

Abū Sa'īd was born December 7, 967 and died January 12,
30 1049. He was a contemporary of Avicenna (980–1037)—he is said to have been his friend, Goldziher, *ibidem*¹—and consequently of I. H. (Text 73⁶). According to Dozy, however, *ib.* (=Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 66), he founded a monastery (Khānkah) in Khorāsān as early as in the year 200/815. But the date is no
35 doubt incorrect.

The Ṣūfis regard him as the originator of their doctrine. De Sacy *ib.* thinks that this is unhistorical.

¹ He is buried by his side, in Hamadan. See the picture of their tombs in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York 1906), p. 167.

Abû Sa'îd was a famous Rubâ'î poet, Browne, *ib.* 261 ff. [73] Even now his Rubâ'îs are believed to have a magic power. They are recited a certain definite number of times as prayers for forgiveness of sins, for rain, etc.¹

On his spiritual conception of the religious obligations comp. 5 Browne, *ib.* p. 268.

— L. 9. On the prohibition of silk see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, sub voce Dress.

— L. 21 ff. The belief in a written will (نَصٌّ) of the Prophet bequeathing the Imamate to Ali is the cardinal tenet of the 10 Imamites in contradistinction from the Zeidites; see Introduction p. 22, Shahr. 122 ff., Iji 353, Makr. 351, IKhald. I, 356. On the reflex of this struggle in the Ḥadīth see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 115 ff.

74, l. 4. On the name Rawāfiḍ see Appendix A. 15

— L. 9. On Zeid see Shahr. 116. He was a pupil of Wāṣil [74] b. 'Aṭā, the founder of the Mu'tazila.

— L. 13. See p. 22.

— L. 15. Ali's voluntary concession of the Imamate to the three first Caliphs is taught, according to Shahr. 121³, by the 20 Ṣālihiyya, the adherents of al-Ḥasan b. Ṣālih (p. 130 f.), and the Butriyya, the followers of a certain al-Abtar. Bagd. 10⁴ applies the name Butriyya to both sects. They accordingly considered Abû Bekr and 'Omar legitimate Imams. Suleimān b. Jarir (p. 136⁷ ff.) agreed with them on this point, but differed from them 25 regarding 'Othman. Suleimān declared him an infidel, while the others reserved their opinion concerning him (Shahr., Bagd).—Kashi 152 applies the appellation Butriyya to the adherents of several men who held the same views on the Imamate. Al-Abtar, however, is not mentioned by him²: والبترية هم اصحاب 30

كثير النوا والحسن بن صالح بن بن يحيى (sic) 3 (sic) وسالم

¹ Zhukovski in the *Memoires (Zapiski) of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archeological Society*, XIII (1900), p. 145.

² See following note.

³ Cf. p. 130³⁰.—Makr. 352²⁹ curiously connects the two men البترية

أتباع الحسن بن صالح بن كثير الأبتري.

ابن ابي حفصة والحكم بن عتيبة وسلمة بن كهيل وابو [74] (sic) المقدام ثايت (sic) الحداد وهم الذين دعوا الى ولاية على رضى الله عنه ثم خلطوها بولاية ابي بكر وعمر ويثبتون لهما امامتهما ويبغضون عثمان وطلحة والزبير وعائشة ويرون الخروج مع بطون ولد على بن ابي طالب.

— Note 6. The word مقالة in the sense required here is not found in the dictionaries. It obviously stands here for “heterodox view or belief, heresy.” The word is frequently found in the kindred literature. Thus I. II. at the very beginning of his *Milal* Ed. I, 1¹⁷ says: The previous writers on the same subject omitted “many of the strongest objections of the

adherents of, makālāt, heterodox views.” IV, 188²⁰: ذكر بعض

“It has been mentioned by some (or one) of the compilers of the heterodox views of those who (wrongly) consider themselves Muslims.” Comp. also IV, 189¹; III, 23¹ and often. Shahr. uses the word in the

same sense: 1³; 60¹ المصنفون في المقالات the heresiologists,

(Hāji Khalfa VI, 117, 118 اصحاب المقالات). Masudi V, 473

similarly refers to the مصنفى كُتِبَ المقالات. His well-known,

20 unfortunately lost, work bore the title الكتاب في المقالات في اصول الديانات. It appears from this as well as from Ed. I, 1¹ and Shahr. 2¹⁸ that مقالات is contrasted with ديانات “the religious (and legitimate) views.”

— L. 19. See Text 30³, 75³.—The name of this theologian is subject to a great many variations. It appears most frequently in the form الحسن بن صالح بن حى, the latter name also in the form of حنى variously pointed as حنى, حنى, حنى; see the readings Text 30, note 2; 79 n. 1; I Ath. in the index; Masudi V, 474 and VI, 24 (comp. p. 490; the editors make 30 of it يحيى); Kashi 152² (sic) —I. II.

¹ Freytag records a slightly similar significance of the word from Golius: “opinio, sententia.”

calls him *promiscue* al-Hasan b. Ṣāliḥ (b. Hayy), Text 30⁷, 74¹⁹ [74] (note 10), 75 n. 1, and al-Hasan b. Hayy, 74^{23,26}, 75², 79¹³. This peculiar circumstance is rendered intelligible by the fact that Hayy or, more exactly, Hayyān is identical with Ṣāliḥ; see Tab. III, 2516¹², 2517³ (and notes), Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* 9²¹. *Fih.* 5 178¹⁰, however, calls his father Ṣāliḥ *bnu* Hayy.

Al-Hasan, with the Kunya Abū ‘Abdallāh, was a member of the Thaur Hamdān (Bagd. 10⁴, comp. Isfr. 9⁴, l. 8).¹ His daughter was married to ‘Īsā, the son of Zeid b. ‘Alī, the founder of the Zeidiyya. Together with his son-in-law, who 10 was pursued by the Caliph Maḥdī, he was compelled to hide in Kufa for seven years. He died in the same city; the year of his death is variously given as 167, 168 and 169; see Wüstenfeld, *Register*, sub voce, Tab. ib., *Fih.* ib., Dahabī, *Huffāz* V, 45. He was famous for his piety, see especially Dahabī, 15 Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* quotes him as Rāwī, while Bukhārī mentions him honorably, Bagd. 10⁴ (comp. Isfr. 9⁴):

وقد اخرج مسلم بن الحجاج حديث الحسن بن صالح بن حي في مسنده الصحيح ولم يخرج محمد بن اسماعيل البخاري حديثه في الصحيح ولكنه قال في كتاب التاريخ الكبير الحسن بن صالح بن حي الكوفي سمع سماك بن حرب ومات سنة سبع وستين ومائة وهو من ثور همدان كُنَّيْتُهُ ابو عبد الله.

I. H.’s account on al-Hasan’s views flagrantly contradicts the statements of the other sources. The latter generally count him among the Zeidiyya, who confine the Imamate to the 25 descendants of ‘Alī or, still narrower, to those of Fāṭima (see later p. 133¹⁶ ff.), Shahr. 121, Bagd., Isfr.; IKot. 301 counts him, more vaguely, among the Shi‘a. *Fih.* 178²⁰, who mentions him

among the *كبار الشيعة الزيدية*, registers a book of his entitled “A book on the Imamate of the descendants of ‘Alī by Fāṭima.”²² 30

¹ The South-Arabian tribe Hamdān in ‘Irāq adhered to the Alides, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen*, II, 144.

² The editors (note 16) bring al-Hasan b. Ṣāliḥ in connection with the Muṭazilite sect Ṣālihiyya, Iji 340³, comp. Shahr. 107. This assumption is inadmissible. Our al-Hasan is rather connected with the Ṣālihiyya among the Shiites, Shahr. 120 and the Buteiriyya, Iji 353. Comp. Masudi V, 474 and Comm. p. 129²³ ff.

[74] In contradiction to all these authors, I. H. insists that al-Ḥasan shared the orthodox view which admits the Imamate "in all the descendants of Fīhr b. Mālik," i. e., the Kureish (comp. Wüstenfeld, Tabellen O¹¹). One might feel inclined to charge⁵ I. H. with the attempt to claim this famous theologian for the Sunna. But it must be remembered that I. H. quotes as his authority an Imamite.—Quite isolated is Masudi's statement (VI, 25) that he went as far as to admit the Imamate even outside the Kureish.

10 — L. 22. On Hishām see p. 65¹¹ ff.

— L. 23. The book is recorded Fīhr. 175, Tusy p. 355, No. 771

[75] 75, l. 4. This is intended to show that al-Ḥasan considered even these men legitimate Imams. Al-Ḥasan was also very¹⁵ mild in his opinion about ʿOthmān, see p. 129^{19, 27}.

— L. 8. I. H. stands quite alone with this assertion. According to all other authorities, including Masudi V, 474, IKhald. I, 357, comp. Kremer. *Ideen* 375, the Zeidiyya restrict the Imamate to the descendants of Fāṭima. The Keisāniyya²⁰ are thus excluded. See Introduction, p. 23 and Comm. p. 35.

— L. 9. Comp. IKhald. ib. The Zeidiyya recognize the Imamate of every descendant of Fāṭima وبشرط ان يكون الامام

منهم عالماً زاهداً جواداً سجاعاً ويخرج داعياً الى امامته.

— Note 6. Instead of the enigmatic words of Ed. وجب²⁵ I would suggest (although with some hesitation) to read وحُبُّ سَلِّ السيفِ معه "and the love of unsheathing the sword is in him."

— L. 14. According to IKhald. I, 356, the Imamiyya claim a written will of Ali in favor of Fāṭima's sons.

30 — L. 20–21. Similarly Shahr. 124¹⁰: "They (the Imāmiyya) agree as to the transfer of the Imamate down to Ja'far b. Muhammed aṣ-Ṣādik. They disagree as to the person he appointed (Imam) by a written will after him." See Text 76² and Comm. p. 104²⁵ ff.

35 — L. 22. On Hishām b. al-Ḥakam see p. 65¹¹ ff.

— Ibidem. On Hishām b. Sālim al-Juwālīkī see Shahr. 141. See also Fīhr. 177²⁴, note 20, Tusy p. 356, No. 772, Kashi 181 ff.—On his anthropomorphic doctrine comp. p. 66².

— L. 23. On Dāwud al-Hawārī see p. 67³² ff. [75]

— Ibidem. On Dāwud b. Kathīr ar-Raḡḡī, from Raḡḡa in Babylonia, see Kashi 256 f. Tusy No. 281, p. 131 designates him as “weak,” because the “Ḡulāt” quote him as authority for their traditions. Kashi 257 defends him against this charge. 5 He is said to have died about 200^h, Tusy *ib.*, comp. Kashi *ib.*

— Ibidem. ‘Ali b. Maṣṣūr is enumerated Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Shi‘a. Masudi VI, 369 calls him an Imamite and a follower of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. He is mentioned in connection with the latter, Kashi 165 ult. See also below l. 22. 10

— Ibidem. On ‘Ali b. Mitham see p. 60⁶ ff.

— L. 24. On ash-Shakkāk see p. 66¹⁴ ff.

— L. 25. On Sheitān aṭ-Ṭāk see p. 59.

— L. 26. Abū Mālīḡ al-Ḥadramī is mentioned Bagd. 21^b in connection with ‘Ali b. Mitham, both being styled شیوخ 15
الروافض. *Fihrr.* 177²⁵ counts him among the dogmatists of the

Shi‘a (من متكلمي الشيعة).¹ Contrary to this, and no doubt incorrectly, Masudi VI, 369 designates him as a radical Khārijite.—He took part, together with most of the other men mentioned in our text, in the famous discussion before the Barmekide 20
Vizier Yahya, Masudi *ib.*; comp. on this discussion Kashi 167 ff.—Abū Mālīḡ is mentioned, together with ‘Ali b. Maṣṣūr (see above l. 7), Kashi 179 ult. They both belonged to Ja‘far’s circle. They outlived Ja‘far, *ib.*

76. l. 3 and note 1. According to most authorities (quoted 25
Comm. p. 19²⁷ f.), Ismā‘īl died *before* his father (five years. [76] Blochet 51). The Ismā‘īliyya remove this difficulty by the assumption that Ja‘far purposely spread the rumor about his death so as to save his life. See the story told Shahr. 146.

— L. 4. These are the Karmatians. See on these Comm. 30
p. 19³² and p. 79⁵.

— L. 7. These are the Ithnā‘ashariyya, see p. 78²³

— L. 10 ff. See on this passage Text p. 48 and Comm. 52 ff.

¹ ابن مملك الإصفهاني which follows immediately is most probably a dittography from the next line. The editors identify this name with Abū Mālīḡ. The difference in the Kunya (Abū Mālīḡ and Abū ‘Abdallāh) as well as in the Nisba (al-Ḥadramī and al-Isfahānī) speak decidedly against this conjecture.

[76] — L. 20. On the contest about the inheritance see the allusive statement Shahr. 129 and a more elaborate account IBab., *Ithbat* 41 penult. It is natural that Ja'far gets the worst of it.

5 77, note 3. I prefer the reading of L. Br غَيْرَ بِهَا "People

[77] sneered at her." See on this expression Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 143 ult. and note 7. The nature of the accusation is not quite clear. Did she become the concubine of al-Hasan b. Ja'far?

10 — L. 5. I have not been able to find any reference to this Kâtib.—The details set forth here are not found elsewhere.

—L. 8. In the time of Abu'l Maali (wrote about 485^b) people made pilgrimages to the cellar (sardâb) in which he was said to have disappeared, Blochet 155. Even as late as Ibn
15 Khaldûn a peculiar ceremony connected with this cellar was still in vogue. Comp. the interesting passage, IKhald. I, 359.

— Ibidem (comp. note 7). The same number of years (180) also Ed. IV, 96².

— L. 10. On Mukhtâr see p. 79¹⁷.—On Keisan and the
20 Keisâniyya p. 33 ff.

— L. 13. Muhammed b. Ismâ'il as-Sayyid al-Ilîmyari was born 105/723 and died 173/789, Brockelmann I, 83. To the sources quoted by Brockelmann add the biography in *Dahabî's Tawrikh al-Islâm* (Ms. of Strassburg University Library, not
25 paginated), which is in part closely related to that given in
5 *Fawât al-Wafâ'yât* I, 24.—On as-Sayyid comp. also the index to this treatise.

— L. 14. Kuthayyir 'Azza, so called because of his love to 'Azza, a girl of the Khuzâ'a tribe, died in 105, the year in
30 which as-Sayyid was born, Brockelmann I, 48.¹

[78] 78, note 2. The drift of this anecdote is probably this, that, as no decent man shared the views of as-Sayyid, he could only point to a cobbler in Ray as his associate in doctrine.

¹ The remark in *Agh. Tables* p. 395* s.v. السيد الحميري: "loué par Kutayyir" is, of course, a misunderstanding. The passage referred to (*Agh.* VIII. 32) merely states that the verses quoted there in the name of Kuthayyir are ascribed by others to as-Sayyid. Comp. *Agh.* VII, 7.

— L. 4. The accusation of forgery, which is certainly more [78] justified than the reciprocal charge of “*tabdil*” (see p. 61 f.), is often made against the Shiites, see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111. I Ath. (VIII, 21) puts it forcibly as well as briefly: “When the enemies of Islam gave up the hope to uproot it by force they 5 took to inventing false traditions.” The Rawāfiḍ are on this score brought in comparison with the Jews and this comparison is put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bī (d. 103), *Ikt* 269 (in a briefer form, also in the name of ash-Sha‘bī, Isfr. 15^a), see p. 19^b. Ash-Sha‘bī, of course, is not responsible for this 10 invidious comparison. The Sunnites in protesting against the Shiitic forgeries found no better spokesman than ash-Sha‘bī, who was revered by the Sunna and at the same time known as a Shiite. It must be noted, however, that, according to Isfr. 70^b penult., the *tertium comparationis* in the analogy between 15 the Rawāfiḍ and the Jews is not the forgery of traditions but “*tashbīh*,” the anthropomorphistic conception of God. The Shiites incline towards “*tashbīh*” (see, e. g., p. 66¹) and the latter is regarded as characteristic of Judaism by the Muhammedan theologians. [Cf. Kauffmann, *Attributenlehre* 81.] 20

The Sunnites answer the Shiitic forgeries with forgeries of their own which are directed against their opponents (Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 117 ff. A few instances can be found Isfr. 15^b f. Some of them are rather clumsy. Thus the Prophet is reported to have ordered Ali to kill the Rawāfiḍ. [See p. 143 ult.] 25

— L. 6. In the expositions following in *Ed.*, I. H. endeavors to refute the Shiitic view that the Imamate is admissible only in the descendants of Ali. His expositions, however, are of a theological nature and do not offer any historical material.

The author very cleverly points out that the ḥadīth أنت مِنِّي 30

بمنزلة هارون من موسى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي¹ which is a standing argument of the Shiites—it is at the same time binding for the Sunnites as being recorded in the two *Saḥīḥs* (Nawawī, *Tuhfah* 438)—proves nothing in favor of Ali, as Joshua, and not Aron, was the successor of Moses.

35

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 119. See Comm. p. 48³⁹.

[78] — L. 10. **ذَمِّيل** here and in the passages quoted Comm. p. 7³⁰ and 9²⁸ obviously means “Synopsis.” This meaning of the word is not recorded in the dictionaries.

— L. 17. Read **كُفَّار** (misprint).

⁵ 79, l. 3. Read **المُسَيَّب** “who caused” (Nöldeke); correct [79] accordingly Text 80³.

— L. 12. This is the opinion of Suleimān b. Jarir (see l. 21). Comp. Shahr. 119: “The nation committed . . . a sin which does not reach the degree of impiety.” See Iji 353, Makr.

¹⁰ 352²⁶ (**سليم** instead of **سليمان**), Masudi V, 474. His party is called Jarīriyya¹; Isfr. 7¹¹ calls it Suleimāniyya.

— L. 13. On al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy see p. 130 f.

— L. 18. This is the view of the Jārūdiyya, see p. 22²⁰ ff.

— L. 20. Comp. a similar utterance Ed. I, 41² (directed ¹⁵ against the Apostles): “It is not permitted to believe an apostate nor to receive (true) religion from an apostate.”

— L. 21. On at-Tammār see p. 60⁶ f.

[80] 80, l. 2. On Abū Kāmil see p. 76²¹ f.

— L. 7. See Text 56³ ff.

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n° 2.

CORRECTIONS.

Introduction, p. 13 l. 3 from below: *Joseph* is oversight for *Samuel*.

Comm. p. 15, n. 3. Al-Warrāk is probably identical with Abū ‘Īsa Muhammed b. Hārūn al-Warrāk, of Bagdad, quoted by Mas‘ūdī. *Murūj* VII, 236.

—Page 78 l. 15. Comp. also IKot. p. 106: **عظيم البطن**.

APPENDIX A.

*The term "Rawâfiḍ."*¹

THE term *Rawâfiḍ* which figures so conspicuously in the literature bearing on Shiism as well as in the texts of Ibn Ḥazm can lay claim to a long and eventful history. The word has undergone numerous changes and modifications which are sometimes of so fluctuating a nature as to defy all exact definitions. In the following an attempt is made—for it cannot be more than an attempt—to trace the principal stages in this development and to classify the various, sometimes contradictory applications of this word.

Rawâfiḍ, in the collective singular *Rāfiḍa*,² occasionally *Arfād*³ and *Rāfiḍūn*,⁴ in the singular *Rāfiḍī*,⁵ originally signifies "an army, or a military force . . . which has deserted its leader" (Lane), in other words "deserters," or "traitors." It is obviously meant as a nickname, more exactly, an abusive nickname, a *nomen odiosum*.⁶ Its application, in consequence,

¹ The abbreviations under which the sources are quoted in this appendix are the same as in the body of the article.

² The form رَفِضَة, which may only represent a different spelling of رَافِضَة, is quoted by Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 281, n. 1, and *Shī'a*, p. 511^a. Another example is recorded by Dozy *sub voce* (from Nuweiri).

³ Comp. *Tâj-al-'Arūs* (see Lane s.v.), Dozy s.v. and Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 280, n. 1.

⁴ See p. 140, n. 3, and Comm. p. 106¹³. Goldziher, *Shī'a* 460^a. The first two examples occur in poetry, the third in rhymed prose.

⁵ Whether the variant الرافض (Text 63, n. 2) represents an actual usage or is merely a scribal error is difficult to determine.

⁶ Muḥaddasī (p. 36¹⁶) counts the Rawâfiḍ among the sects which are designated by a nickname: **فَأَمَّا الْمَلَقَبَةُ فَالرَّوَافِضُ وَالْمُجَبَّرَةُ**. The abusive nature of the name is evident from the remark immediately following: **وَأَمَّا الْمُمْتَدِحَةُ فَأَهْلُ السَّنَةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةُ وَأَهْلُ الْعَدْلِ وَالتَّوْحِيدِ الْحَقِّ**.

largely depends on the mental attitude of the person using it. Hence its preëminently polemical character.¹

Historically the name is connected with Zeid, the great-grandson of Ali, the originator of the Zeidiyya. Ṭabari² has preserved an elaborate account of the incident to which the word owes its origin.

Zeid b. Ali b. al-Ḥusein b. Ali b. Abi Ṭālib had been encouraged by the people of Kufa to assert his claims to the throne of the Omeyyads. Relying on their promises of assistance, he organizes in the year 122^h an open rebellion which is to take place on a prearranged day in Kufa. The governor Yūsuf b. 'Omar receives timely information and takes energetic measures to nip the rebellion in the bud by getting hold of its organizer. In this moment of danger the leaders of the rebellious Kufiotes, who had always been noted for their fickleness of character, gather around Zeid to cross-examine him as to the legitimacy of the first two Caliphs, Abū Bekr and 'Omar. "Zeid" said: "May Allah have mercy on them both and grant them forgiveness! I have never heard anyone of my family repudiating them" or speaking of them otherwise than favor-

¹ The Shiites never designate themselves as Rawāfiḍ. According to Muḥaddasī (p. 142, n. 6), they apply this word to their opponents. As-Sayyid protests against the affront implied in it (p. 140, n. 3). The expression has, it seems, always (see, however, p. 151, n. 5) carried with it a derogatory meaning. The term *Mu'tazila*, "secessionists" or "schismatics", affords, both as regards origin (see Shahr. 33¹) and the other sources) and subsequent development, an interesting parallel to Rawāfiḍ. The *Mu'tazila* themselves prefer the designation *Aṣḥāb* (or *ahl*) *al-'aḍl wa't-tau-hīd* (Shahr. 29 bottom, cf. preceding note, and *Zeid*.

Mu'taz. p. 2). Bagd. 40^a, 137^a uses the word polemically: القدرية

المعتزلة عن الحق, while Zeid. *Mu'taz.*, who is himself a *Mu'tazilite*, endeavors to find for the name a different and more complimentary derivation.

² II, 1698 ff.

³ Tab. II, 1699. We quote the passage *verbatim*, as it strikingly illustrates the fundamental points of difference between the two most important sections of the Shi'a.

التبري عن (من) الشّخين. The expression يتبرأ منهما⁴ is the technical term in this connection. The opposite attitude is designated as الترضى عن الشّخين. See Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280 n. 2, Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 n. 2, and the references quoted in the course of this appendix.

bly.' They said: 'Why, then, do you seek the blood of this family (the Omeyyads), if they have not (illegally) seized upon your throne and wrenched it from your hands?' He replied to them: 'The most I can admit in the question you are discussing is that we (the family of Ali) were the worthiest among men of the Prophet's throne and that the people appropriated it in preference to us and pushed us away from it. Yet, this, in our opinion, does not constitute apostasy on their part. They¹ were Caliphs, they were just in their dealings with the people and acted in accordance with the Book and Tradition.' They said: 'If those did not wrong you, then these (the Omeyyads) have not wronged you either. Why, then, should you call (us) to fight people who are not doing you any wrong?' He answered: 'These here are not the same as those. These here *do* wrong me and you and themselves. For we only call you to Allah's Book and the Prophet's Tradition (so that) the traditions be revived and the innovations extinguished. If you follow us, you will be blessed. If not,—I am not responsible for you!' Thereupon they withdrew from him, violating their oath of allegiance, and declared: 'the Imam has died!'², henceforward maintaining that Abû Ja'far Muhammed b. Ali, the brother of Zeid b. Ali, was the (legitimate) Imam. The latter, however, had died in the meantime, but his son Ja'far b. Muhammed was alive. So they declared: 'Ja'far is now our Imam after his father. He is the worthiest of the Imamate after his father. We will not follow Zeid b. Ali, for he is no Imam.' Zeid thereupon called them *Râfida*. At present,³ however, they maintain that it was al-Muğira who called them *Râfida* at the time when they had withdrawn from him."

The last sentence is highly significant. The partisans of Zeid apparently repented their faithless action which resulted

¹ Abû Bekr and 'Omar. It is not clear whether 'Othman is included. The attitude of the Zeidiyya toward the latter is vacillating. See Comm. p. 129²⁰.

² سبق الإمام. On this meaning of سبق see Tabarî glossary *sub voce* and compare the next sentence.

³ اليوم. Codex B omits it. The narrator was a contemporary of Zeid. See later p. 141.

in his pitiful death. They felt the scathing shame of having been branded as "deserters" or "traitors" by so distinguished and pious a descendant of Ali. Shrewd as they were, they pretended that this name was hung on them by al-Mugīra b. Sa'īd¹ under whom they had risen shortly before and from whom they had betimes withdrawn.² To have been thus nicknamed by so rank a heretic constituted, in their opinion, a title of honor.³

Ṭabari's derivation of the word from the unfortunate uprising of Zeid b. Ali in 122 is almost universally confirmed by the Arabic authorities.⁴ So all the national lexicographers (see the quotations in Lane *sub voce*)⁵; Bagd. 10^b f.⁶; Isfr. 9^a; Shahr.

¹ The text merely gives *al-Mugīra*. But if this is to have any meaning, it can only be taken as referring to al-Mugīra b. Sa'īd. Text 59 f., Comm. 79. This identification is also assumed in the index to Ṭabari. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 96 n. 1. substitutes, without justification, the name of al-Mugīra b. *Shurba*. It is difficult to account for his name in this connection.

² Cf. Text 60¹⁴.

³ The derogatory character of the word (comp. p. 137 n. 6) is aptly illustrated by a verse of as-Sayyid, Agh. VII, 17. The latter had been accused by the poet Sawwār, in the presence of the Caliph Manṣūr, of being a fanatical Shi'ite. As-Sayyid replies to Sawwār in a scathing poem in which he says:

وَحَنَّ عَلَى رَعِيكَ الرَّافِضُو * نَ لِأَهْلِ الضَّلَالَةِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ

"We, however, are—whether you like it or not—men who 'desert' people of error and ungodly works." This apparently means: You may nickname us "deserters." But we are such only because we "desert" Abū Bekr and 'Omar who disregarded the Prophet's will and usurped the Caliphate rightly belonging to Ali. See later p. 142 f. Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 210 misunderstood the verse.

⁴ A few (see later p. 142, n. 6) add another explanation which is no doubt secondary.

⁵ Comp. also Nawawī on Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ I, 51.

⁶ Comp. fol. 11^a: فَفَارَقُوهُ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى قَالَ لَهُمْ رَضْتُمُونِي
وَمِنْ يَوْمئِذٍ سُمُّوا رَافِضَةً. Bagd. winds up his lengthy account with the interesting observation قَالَ عَبْدُ الْقَاهِرِ رَوَافِضُ الْكُوفَةِ
مَوْصُوفُونَ بِالْغَدْرِ وَالْبُخْلِ وَقَدْ سَارَ الْمَثَلُ فِيهِمَا حَتَّى قِيلَ أَجْحَلُ
مَنْ كُوفِيٍّ وَأَغْدَرُ مِنْ كُوفِيٍّ.

17, 116; IKhald. I, 357; Makr. 351⁸ (=de Sacy XLVIII, II, 588)¹, and others. Muḳaddasī, who records various applications of our term, distinctly states²: "with the Zeidiyya (it signifies) those who denied the Caliphate of Zeid b. Ali, and, *this is the original meaning.*"

It is well known that historical incidents quoted by Muhammedan authorities for the purposes of philological interpretation cannot always be relied upon, as they are not infrequently manufactured for the occasion. But no such scepticism is justified in our case. Tabari's report is derived from *Abū Mikhaḡf*, who was a contemporary of Zeid, lived in the same city and is the best authority for the early history of Islam, especially in 'Irāq.³ Besides, the incident has every internal evidence in its favor. Zeid b. Ali was the pupil of Wāsil b. 'Aṭā, the founder of the Mu'tazila.⁴ Like the latter, he looked at the problem of the Imamate from a rational point of view.⁵ To Zeid and his followers the Zeidiyya the Imamate was essentially a question of personal qualification.⁶ They denied the existence of a written will⁷ and, while maintaining the superiority of Ali, they justly enough admitted that the first two eminently successful Caliphs were legitimate rulers.⁸ To Zeid's opponents the Imamate was exclusively a question of birth. It was hereditary in its very nature and bequeathed to Ali by the Prophet. Accordingly, Abū Bekr and 'Omar were usurpers and, disregarding, as they did, the express will of Allah's Prophet,

¹ Who also quotes the other explanation, p. 142, n. 6.

² See p. 142, n. 6.

³ See on this historian Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Preface.

⁴ See Comm. 11¹⁶.

⁵ Comp. Ijī 297.

⁶ Comp. Text 75⁹ and Comm.

⁷ Comp. Introd. p. 22 and Text 74⁵.

⁸ Makr. 352²³ sums up Zeid's standpoint in the words *يَعُضِّلُ عَلَيَّا عَلَى ابْنِ بَكْرٍ وَعَمْرٍ مَعَ الْقَوْلِ بِإِمَامَتِهِمَا*. Comp. the quotation in Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33, n. 2 *وكان زيد أيضا مع قوله بأفضليّة عليّ على العصابة يرى أنّ بيعة الشيخين صحيحة*. This view is based on the belief in the legitimacy of *إمامة المفضول* "the Imamate of the Inferior." See on this important point Shahr. 116 and Ibn Ḥazm, Ed. IV, 163 ff.

they are to be looked upon as apostates.¹ Thus the "repudiation of the two Elders" became the equivalent and complement of the recognition of the claims of the Alids. It was the propelling force of all Shiitic uprisings and it is but natural that the same question formed the point of issue between the legitimists of Kufa and the rationalistic and fair-minded Zeid at the moment when they were both about to take up arms against the ruling dynasty.

Thus we may consider it certain that the word *Rawâfiḍ* originated in Kufa in the year of the Hijra 122,² in connection with the rebellion of Zeid b. Ali.³

The specific characteristic of the *Rawâfiḍ*, of those who deserted Zeid and were termed by him "deserters," was the negative attitude towards Abû Bekr and 'Omar, and, in a lesser degree, of 'Othman and the other Companions,⁴—an attitude which was not a mere theoretic notion but soon grew into violent hatred and vented itself in the action—believed to be meritorious—of سَبَّ الْعَجَائِذِ "the public denunciation of the Companions." Hence *Rafḍ* or *Taraffud*, i. e. "to act as *Râfiḍa*" became the designation for this hostile attitude toward the "two Elders" and the Companions, *Rawâfiḍ* and its parallel forms the name of those who maintain this attitude.⁵ Thus

¹ See Intro. 22 and Text 79^{1b}.

² Ash-Sha'bi's (died 103) reference to the *Râfiḍa* (Comm. p. 19^{1b}) is no doubt apocryphal. This scathing criticism of the *Râfiḍa* is attributed to him purposely because he was known to be favorably inclined towards Shiism. The sentence quoted ibidem 19²⁰ الروافض يهود

هذه الأمة is attributed Isfr. 15^a to the Prophet himself, whilst according to ash-Sha'bi (see p. 144¹), the *Rawâfiḍ* were even worse than the Jews. Again, according to Shahr. 9, the Prophet compared the *Rawâfiḍ* with the *Christians*.

³ Whether Zeid gave his opponents that name or it was given to them by others in connection with that event is quite immaterial to us.

⁴ Cf. p. 139, n. 1.

⁵ On "Sabb" see Goldziher, *Shi'a* 455 ff. and ZDMG. 36. 280. For some very characteristic instances see Comm. 28. n. 1 (quotation from *Mirza*), 42¹ ff., 65¹ ff. and Goldziher. *Shi'a* 456 middle.

⁶ This, in our opinion, accounts for the additional explanation of "Rawâfiḍ" as رَفَضُوا أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ, as those who deserted Abû Bekr and 'Omar, so *Ikḍ* (cf. p. 148). Maḡrizī 351^b, who defines (ib.) the

Bagd 12^b introduces with the words رَفَضَهُ فِي كَتَبِهِ وقال the following two verses as characteristic of "Rafīḍ":

رَوَافِذُ فِي حُبِّ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَبُغْضِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ
وَعُمَرُ وَعُثْمَانُ وَعَائِشَةُ وَمَعَاوِيَةُ فِي آخِرِينَ مِنَ الْعُكَاظَةِ
وَالرَّافِضُ عِنْدَ الشَّيْعَةِ مَنْ : أَمَّا خِلَافَةُ عَلِيٍّ وَعِنْدَ غَيْرِهِمْ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ الْعُمَرَيْنِ
وَالرَّفْضُ عِنْدَ الشَّيْعَةِ تَأْخِيرُ : خِلَافَةُ عَلِيٍّ وَتَقْدِيمُ غَيْرِهِ عَلَيْهِ وَعِنْدَ الزَيْدِيَّةِ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ
زَيْدٍ وَهَذَا هُوَ الْأَصْلُ وَعِنْدَ غَيْرِهِمْ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ الْعُمَرَيْنِ
وَهَذَا مَوْضُوعٌ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ الْمَعْرُوفُ . We are thus presented with three

derivations of the name : 1) according to the Shiites, the name applies to those who gave the precedence to someone else over Ali in the Caliphate, i. e. who elected Abū Bekr (and 'Omar) instead of Ali. 2) According to the Zeidiyya, it applies to those who rejected Zeid's Caliphate (in 122). 3) According to the others (i. e. the Sunnites), Rawāfiḍ are those who rejected the Caliphate of Abū Bekr and 'Omar. Historically, the first and third explanation are identical : they both assign an earlier origin to the name, deriving it from the events following Muhammed's death. They are substantially identical with the second explanation quoted by Makrīzī. The second derivation of Muḳaddasī assigns the name to the year 122. This explanation is, according to Muḳaddasī, the original one, while the third, although the ordinary one, is apocryphal. From the expositions in the text it will have become obvious why the latter explanation had become so favorite. From the remark above quoted we also learn the fact—otherwise unknown—that the Shi'a,—in this case the Imāmiyya, see later p. 158,—applied the same nickname to their adversaries. This apparently means that the Rawāfiḍ, smarting under the offence implied in that term (comp. p. 140), endeavor to explain it differently : i. e. as those who deserted Ali, the opposition to Ali being objectionable even in the eyes of many Sunnites.—Another example of a polemical explanation of Rawāfiḍ is found in a ḥadīth (apocryphal, of course) quoted Isfr. 15^b penult : (sic) رَوَى عَنْ بَنِي

عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ قَالَ سَيَكُونُ فِي

بَرِئْتُ^١ إِلَى إِلَهِهِ مِنْ آبِنِ أَزْرَى^٢ * وَمِنْ دِينِ الْخَوَارِجِ أَجْمَعِينَ^٣
وَمِنْ عُمَرَ نَزَّيْتُ^٤ وَمِنْ عَتِيقٍ^٥ * غَدَاةَ دُعَى^٦ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ^٧

In a dictum quoted Isfr. 15^a in the name of ash-Sha'bî (d. 103)⁷ the Rawâfiq are characterized thus: الروافض شر من اليهود والنصارى فإن اليهود سئلوا عن أخيار ملتهم فقالوا اصحاب موسى عليه السلام والنصارى سئلوا عن اخيار ملتهم فقالوا الخواريون [15^b] الذين كانوا مع عيسى عليه السلام وسُئلت الرافضة عن شر هذه الأمة فقالوا اصحاب محمد.

"These here are *Râfiḍu*, those opposite them are Sunnites . . . the Sunnites are pleased with" Abû Bekr and 'Omar, the

آخر الزمان قوم لهم نبي (?? = Mahdî ?) يقال لهم الروافض
يرفضون الاسلام فاقتلوهم فانهم مشركون. The same ḥadith with a different *isnâd* and a few variations is quoted Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444.

^١ بَرِئْتُ seems to be more archaic than the ordinarily used form

تَبَرَّأً. Thus, according to 'al-Aṣma'î (died 215. quoted *Lisân* sub voce تَبَرَّأً), Zeid was told ابرأ من الشيخين. *Kâmûs* (s. v. روافض) says instead تَبَرَّأً من الشيخين.

^٢ Arwa was 'Othman's mother.

^٣ Ms. جميعا; corrected according to Agh. VII, 24 (see n. 6).

^٤ i. e. Abû Bekr.

^٥ sic!—"was proclaimed."

^٦ Agh. VII, 24¹¹ ascribes these two verses to as-Sayyid, who is said to have uttered them with his last breath. The second verse appears here in a considerably different form:

ومن فعل يريب ومن فعيل * غداة دعا امير المؤمنين

The elimination of Abû Bekr's and 'Omar's name is certainly not accidental. See on Abû'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî's attitude towards Shiism, and especially towards as-Sayyid, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 441 f.

⁷ See p. 142, n. 2. Although apocryphal, the utterance illustrates the meaning attached to "Rawâfiq" by those who invented it.

⁸ يتبرصون عن. Cf. p. 138, n. 4.

Râfida denounce them" (Dozy sub voce رَفَضَة from Nuweiri).

Characteristic is the anecdote Agh. XVIII, 59¹: the poet Di'bil (died 246^h), who is an enthusiastic Shiite,¹ denounces a descendant of Zubeir, the son of Ṣafiyya bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's aunt. The Kāḍi 'Amr b. Humeid interposes on the plea that this is equal to insulting a close relative of the Prophet. Di'bil retorts: "I have never seen anyone more stupid than thyself, except the one who hath appointed thee Thy mind can conceive that I am a Râfidi because of calumniating Ṣafiyya the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib . . . Is calumniating Ṣafiyya a religious tenet of the Râfida?" Di'bil shrewdly implies that other personalities, far more important than Ṣafiyya, are the target of the Rawâfid's hatred.

Because of this "denunciation of the Companions" the Rawâfid are nicknamed "Sabbâbûn," "denouncers."²

To realize the full significance of this usage, we must bear in mind the fact so lucidly expounded by Goldziher,³ that the Shi'a

¹ Cf. Agh. XVIII, 29.

² روافض سبّابون, وكانوا أرفاضا سبّابين ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.—This general aspect of our term is to be thought of, whenever it is found difficult to assign it to any of the more definitely circumscribed categories to be mentioned in the course of this article.—Muḥaddasî affords us two interesting examples derived from his personal experience. While travelling in 'Irâk, where there are "Gâhiya, exaggerating their love for Mu'âwiya" (p. 126, l. 14 and note *m*: cf. Comm. 12^a), our author hears in the principal mosque of Wâsiṭ a man reciting a *ḥadīth* (forged, of course) in favor of Mu'âwiya. He remonstrates. The man shouts

خُذُوا هَذَا الرَّافِضِيَّ and the mob advances to attack him (p. 126).

Similarly, in Ispahan, which is equally distinguished by its "Guluww for Mu'âwiya" (cf. also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 495, n. 3) the author protests against a man who denounces Ali and is angrily pointed at as هَذَا رَجُلٌ

رافِضِيّ (p. 399¹³). This does not necessarily imply that "orthodox fanaticism"

رافِضِيّ vocant quoque orthodoxos moderatos" (Glossary to Muḥaddasî s.v. رَفَضَ), but simply means that the people seeing that he objects to Mu'âwiya or that he defends Ali, *think* that he is a "repudiator" of the Companions. In point of fact, Muḥaddasî is very favorably inclined toward the Zeidiyya (see p. 158).

³ ZDMG. 36, 280 f., 50, 111 f., *Shi'a* 460 ff., *Muh. St.* II, 110 f. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I. 33.

but slowly and gradually developed into an independent religious organism and at first represented rather a different current within Islam than a separate sect. Shiism (*Tashayyū*) in itself, i. e. attachment to Ali and the Alidic family, is, from the Sunnitic point of view, by no means objectionable, nay, is even commendable; the word *Shi'a* in itself does not imply any heresy.¹ It does become objectionable when the attachment to Ali is coupled with the denunciation of the Companions, in the first place of Abū Bekr and 'Omar.² Hence, even in later times, *Rawāfiḍ* is frequently used side by side with and at the same time as distinguished from *Shi'a*, the former denoting the radical and improper expression of Alidic sympathy, the latter the moderate and permissible one. Thus Ibn Hajar al-Askelānī

(died 852/1449) characteristically says³: **كَانَ أَبُوهُ فَاضِلًا مَتَشَبِّعًا مِنْ غَيْرِ سَبٍّ وَلَا غِلْوٍ فَنَشَأَ وَلَدُهُ غَالِبًا فِي الرَّفْضِ**. This differentiation has even found expression in a ḥadīth, quoted Isfr. 16^a: **عَمْرٍو رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ يَا عَلِيُّ تَكُونُ أَنْتَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَشَبِيعَتُكَ يَكُونُونَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَسَبْكَوْنَ بَعْدَكَ قَوْمٌ يَدْعُونَ وَلَايَتَكَ⁴ يُدْعَوْنَ الرِّوَاغِصَ فَإِنَّهُمْ إِنْ وَجَدْتَهُمْ فَاقْتُلْهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ مُشْرِكُونَ** فقال عليٌّ وما علامتهم يا رسول الله فقال لا يكون لهم جُمُعة ولا جماعة⁵: يشتُمون أبا بكر وعمر. Thus even the partisans (*Shi'a*) of Ali

¹ *Shi'a* 443. n. 3. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje *ib.* 32, n. 1.

² Comp. the characteristic utterance Damīrī's (quoted *Shi'a* *ib.*)

يَتَشَبَّعُ تَشَبُّعًا حَسَنًا يَقُولُ بِتَفْضِيلِ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَنْقِيصٍ لِأَحَدٍ مِنَ الْعُكَّابَةِ. See other examples quoted *ib.*

³ ZDMG. 36. 280 n. 2.

⁴ Similarly the well-known Shiite Zurāra b. A'yūn is said to have been

أَحَدُ الْغُلَاةِ فِي الرَّفْضِ (Makr. 353¹⁰).

⁵ Ms. ولايتك.

⁶ Comp. the ḥadīth quoted at the end of p. 142. n. 6.

⁷ Comp. the ḥadīth quoted Goldziher, *Shi'a* 447¹⁴: **فَيُخْرِجُونَ مِنَ الْجَمَاعَاتِ وَيَتْرَكُونَ الْجَمْعَاتِ**.

are sent to Paradise, while those partisans who cannot refrain from denouncing Abū Bekr and 'Omar' deserve extermination.² In consequence, **الشبهة والرافضة** for the moderate and radical wing of Alidic sympathizers is an expression often to be met with. Several examples can be gleaned from the abundant polemical material collected by Goldziher in his *Shi'a*: 453 ult., 486 l. 6, 511 l. 6,³ 512 l. 17 and penult. A further instance may be added from IKhald. III, 74. Speaking of the later Ṣūfis, Ibn

¹ The ḥadīth is shrewdly enough transmitted through the son of 'Omar.

² Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444, quotes a ḥadīth which is obviously identical with ours. But it is undoubtedly expurgated and almost entirely shorn of its pro-Alidic—one might almost say, Zeiditic—tendency. The words

نكون اذنت في الجنة وشيعتك يكونون في الجنة are left out and the

Prophet's reply is more in keeping with strict orthodoxy: **يعظّمونك بما لبس فيك ويطعنون على السلف**. In the latter form the Prophet also protests against those who, like the Zeidiyya, acknowledge Abū Bekr and 'Omar but reject the other Companions.

³ In this passage the author (a Persian Shiite of the eleventh century of the Hijra) incidentally explains the origin of the word **رافضة** (or, as he spells it, **رفضة**, cf. 137 n. 2) in a manner different from the explanations previously quoted. He says, *Shi'a* 511¹² ff.:

ونحن ومن لا يكابر عقله ووجدانه نعلم علماً يقيناً قطعاً بان هؤلاء الجوّاري والموالي والجهتهدين في مذهب اهل البيت عليهم السلام كانوا اخصّ بهم واعلم بأصولهم وفروعهم لأنّ اهل البيت ابصر بما في البيت وانهم سمّوا بهذا السبب شيعة ورفضة .. He and those who do not defy their reason or senses are truly and positively aware that these maid servants and male servants (of the Alids) and the students of the doctrine of the Prophet's family were nearer to the latter (cf. Goldziher ib. 508, n. 6) and better acquainted with their fundamental and derivative principles. For the Prophet's family is best aware of what is in the Family. It was for this reason that they (apparently referring to the people mentioned at the beginning of the quotation) were called *Shi'a* and *Rāfiqa*. "*Shi'a*=partisans of Ali. *Rāfiqa* seems to convey to the author's mind an essentially positive meaning: intense devotion to the Alidic family, while originally this meaning was merely the complement of the negative idea: the repudiation of the Companions.

Khaldûn says: They exalt Ali above all other Companions ذهاباً مع عقائد التشيع "in accordance with the beliefs of Shiism," shortly afterwards remarking: وأما هو مأخوذ من "This (the system of the Sûfis) is merely borrowed from the religious philosophy of the Shi'a and Râfida and their doctrines in their writings."¹ All these examples are of rather late origin.² For an earlier instance see the curious quotation from an ancient poet, Maḳḳari I, 799: "Thou sayest: 'Shiism consists in the love of the Bald one of Hâshim.'"³ Be then, I pray, a Râfîdî, if thou wishest it, or become thou a Shiite!"⁴ As clearly differentiated the two terms appear in the definition *Ikḍ* 267: "They were called Râfîda, because they 'deserted' Abû Bekr and 'Omar' (cf. p. 142, n. 6) . . . والشيعة دونهم وهم الذين يفضلون علياً على عثمان ويتلون أبا بكر وعمر "the Shi'a, however, are outside of them (the Râfîda). They are those who prefer Ali to Othman but follow Abû Bekr and 'Omar.'" Compare also above, Comm., p. 19¹².

In this connection may also be mentioned the title of Jâhîz' treatise (Masudi VI, 57), كتاب امامة امير المؤمنين معاوية بن ابى سفيان في الانتصار له من على بن ابى طالب رضة وشيعته الرافضة.

With the consolidation of the Shi'a the "deserters" of Zeid b. Ali in 122^h developed into the *Imâmiyya* sect which out of the belief in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and the repudia-

¹ In this case, however, and possibly in some other cases *Râfîda* may be taken in the more limited meaning of *Imâmiyya*, see later in the text, p. 149 f.

² For a few more equally late examples see Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue No. 2152.

³ Ali was bald, cf. Text 57°.

⁴ فترفضي إن شئت أو فتشيعي.—The pun contained in these words is as clever as it is frivolous.

⁵ See later p. 158 middle.

tion of the Prophet's Companions evolved an independent system of religious doctrine and practice. Their antipodes within the Shi'a were the *Zeidiyya*, the followers of Zeid b. Ali. Hence *Rawāfiḍ* very aptly became the equivalent for *Imāmiyya*.¹ In this application our term is consistently used by Zeidite and very frequently by Sunnitic writers. Thus a Zeidite writes كتاب

الرد على الرافضة.² The early Zeidite al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm (died 246^h) applies the word in the same manner, e. g., *Comm.* 104^{as}, similarly *Zeid. Mutaz.*, p. 48. The Zeidite Suleimān b. Jarīr (see *Comm.* p. 72^{as}) طعن في الرافضة "criticized the Rāfiḍa," i. e. the Imāmiyya (*Shahr.* 119). Jāhīz begins his "Epistle on the Doctrines of the Shi'a" (*Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il*, Cairo 1324^h, p. 178) with the characteristic words: "Know . . . that the Shi'a of Ali is Zeidite and Rāfiḍite (زيدى ورافضى). The rest of them are isolated and not classified. The description of these two (Zeidites and Rāfiḍites) makes (the description of) those outside of them unnecessary." Masudi VI, 23 designates as the

sects of Islam الخوارج والمرجئة والرافضة والزيدية والحشوية; the same meaning apparently attaches to the word *ibidam*, V, 442.³

So, also, Tab. III, 1684¹⁷ رافضة . . . وزيدية.

In the same sense our word is constantly applied by Ibn Hazm. He consciously defines it as contradictory to Zeidiyya *Taṭ* 74 ff. and very often applies it in this meaning in his *Milal*. Thus Ed. IV, 176¹: الخوارج والزيدية والروافض وجمهور المعتزلة; وجميع الرافضة من الشيعة . . . وجميع الزيدية من الشيعة 163¹² similarly IV, 171^{12 13}. Famous Imamites are designated as

¹ Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 ult.: "Ursprünglich bildeten die Zeiditen einen Gegensatz zu den Rāfiḍiten."

² *Fihrist* 193 ult. For another example see Brockelmann I, 186.—"Die imamitische Sekte der Zaiditen." *ibidem*, p. 185, is a contradictio in adiecto.

³ Elsewhere (V, 473) he allusively refers to the origin of the name of the Zeidiyya, for which he claims to have several explanations.

⁴ In this passage I. H. exactly defines the position of the Imāmiyya in the question of the "Imamate of the Inferior" (cf. p. 141, n. 8).

Râfidis, e. g., Ali b. Mītam (*Comm.* 60²³),¹ Text 51⁴,² Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Comm.* 65¹¹), *Text* 63², 74²², Ed. II, 121³,³ Muḥammed b. Jaʿfar (Sheitān at-Tāk, *Comm.* 59⁹), *Text* 50¹⁵. As synonymous with Imāmiyya the word also appears *Text* 62¹⁶; *Comm.* 14¹⁰, 15²; Ed. IV, 100 f. and elsewhere.

It is only a slight variation of this usage when I. H. employs Rawāfiḍ as an *apposition* of Imāmiyya. Thus *Text* 44¹² (= Ed.

IV, 179 penult.) وقال بعض الروافض الإمامية وهي الفرقة التي

وقالت القطيعية من 47¹⁹ (= Ed. IV, 181¹) تدعى المبطورة الامامية الرافضة كلهم وهم جمهور الشيعة⁵ or *Text* 31²⁰ (= Ed. I, 112 ult.), where several Imamites are characterized as كلهم⁶ كلهم شيعة رافضة, for which Br. and V. (see ib. n. 4) read رافضة شيعة.

On the other hand, the original meaning of Rawāfiḍ as “repudiators,” without the restriction of an organized sect, seems to be unconsciously present in Ibn Ḥazm’s mind when he speaks of الامامية من الرافضة, see this page note 5 and *Text* 42¹² = Ed. IV, 179⁷.

As an equivalent of Imāmiyya our word shares in all the modifications of that term, embracing all those who believe in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and in a written will of the Prophet (comp. *Text* 74). Thus the Zeidite al-Kāsim consciously defines Rawāfiḍ as those who carry the Imamate

¹ Bagd., too, counts him among the رافضة شيوخ (ib.).

² In the Arabic text (Ed. IV, 181 penult.) وكان is to be read instead of وكل.

³ Comp. Masudi VII, 231.

⁴ L. and Br. merely read (ib. note 8) وقالت فرقة من الرافضة.

⁵ L. Br. instead (ib. n. 13) وقالت القطيعية كلها وهم من الامامية من الرافضة اليوم, see later.

⁶ Comp. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medīnah and Meccah (ed. 1898), I. 206: “The Maghrabis, too, hearing that the Persians were *Rafaz* (heretics) crowded fiercely round to do a little *Jihad*, or Fighting for the Faith.” The Persians were no doubt “Twelvers.”

down to Ja'far.¹ In the same sense probably,² IKhald. counts (II. 165, III, 72, 74) the Ismā'īliyya, who transfer the Imamate from Ja'far to his son Ismā'il, and for a similar reason the Fatimides (III, 8) among the Rawāfiḍ.³ Ja'far's son Mûsa is termed "Imâm ar-Râfiḍa,"⁴ and so is al-Ḥasan al-'Askari, the Mahdi's father.⁵ With the spread of the Ithnā'ashariyya, Rawāfiḍ just as Imâmiyya" became a designation of the "Twelvers." Thus *Mirza* 49^a unmistakably says الاثنى

عشرية التي يعبر عنها بالرافضة والروافض. His treatise entitled رسالة النواقض في رد الروافض is directed against the same sect. I. H. applies the word similarly, Ed. I, 139⁷ and *Text* 76⁷, 77¹.

The further development of our term seems to have been influenced by the relation of the Sunnites to the Imâmiyya. However bitterly the former resented the Imâmiyya's attitude towards the Companions, they still regarded them as being within the fold of Islam.⁷ Excluded from the Muhammedan community were only the Gulât or Gâliya,⁸ who were considered

¹ See Comm. p. 104²⁵.

² Another explanation is possible, see p. 152, n. 4.

³ One must, however, bear in mind that under the Fatimides the "repudiation" of the first Caliphs became obligatory as a state law, cf. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 456.

⁴ IBab., *Ithbat* 38.

⁵ Ib. 41. It is worthy of notice that al-Ḥasan is so designated by one of his admirers (although not a Shiite). This would indicate that, in Shiitic countries at least, our appellation lost much of its derogatory character.

⁶ Comp. IKhald. I, 362 واما الاثنى عشرية ورتبما خَصَّروا باسم الامامية عند المتأخرين منهم.

⁷ See following note.

⁸ Comp. Bagd. 6^b (أى من الشيعة) وجميع فرق الغلاة منهم

خارجون عن فرق الاسلام فاما فرق الزيدية والامامية فمعدودون في فرق الأمة, see ib. 99^a and Makr. 345. Comp. also Introduction, p. 21.

an outgrowth of the Imâmiyya,¹ but not identified with them.² The nature of our term as a *nomen odiosum* sufficiently accounts for its occasional application as *Gulât in distinction from* the Imâmiyya. Thus IKhald. II, 164, in speaking of the Sufis who believe in the Divine nature of the Imams, observes: فشاركوا فيها الامامية والرافضة لقولهم بالوهمية الأئمة او حلول الإله فيهم "they share this belief with the Imâmiyya and Râfida (i. e. *Gulât*), because they maintain the divinity of the Imam or the incarnation of the Deity in them." *Ibidem* I, 1: "the tenets of the Imâmiyya and Râfida of the Shi'a as to the recognition of Ali's superiority and the belief in his Imamate, owing to a written will of the Prophet, as well as the repudiation of the two Elders."³ As *Gulât* our word is probably to be explained Masudi VI, 26: وذهب أبو حنيفة واكثر المرجئة واكثر الزيدية من الجارودية وغيرها وسائر فرق الشيعة والرافضة والراوندية ان الامامة لا تجوز الا في قريش فقط "Abû Hanîfa (*Comm.* 8), the majority of the Murji'a, the majority of the Zeidiyya, such as⁴ the Jârûdiyya (*Comm.*

¹ IKhald. I, 359 speaks of غلاة الإمامية, see the following note.

² Comp. the sharp distinction drawn by Ibn Hazm, *Text* 55²¹ ff. The Imamites themselves energetically deny any connection with the *Gulât*, comp. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 466, n. 2 and *Comm.* 91²⁵.

³ Comp. IKhald. I, 358: "The *Gulât* have transgressed the limits of Reason and Faith by believing in the divinity of these Imams." See Ibn Hazm, *Text* 55²⁵.

⁴ Outside the Imâmiyya, it is only the *Gulât* who hold these beliefs. The Zeidiyya reject them.—On the other hand, if we take Imamiyya in its restricted sense as Ithnâ'ashariyya (comp. p. 151 n. 6), Râfida here might possibly stand for the Ismâ'iliyya. Again, in the expression الاسماعيلية من الرافضة (p. 151) the latter might designate *Gulât*, as the Ismâ'iliyya hold *guluww* doctrines. *Ib.* III, 74 IKhald., alongside of the expression just quoted, says الاسماعيلية من الشيعة.

⁵ I take من as من البيان.

22) and other sects¹ and the remaining sects of the Shi'a² and the Râfida³ as well as the Râwendiyya (Comm. p. 121 ff.) hold that the Imamate is permissible only in the Kureish tribe." A clear case of this usage is found I Athir VII, 341 l. 4,

where instead of *كان مغالى* (read *مغاليا*) *في التشيع* three codices read *يترفض*. A curious as well as instructive example is afforded by the anecdote told *Kâmil*, ed. Wright 547 and *Agh.* III, 24. Wâsil b. 'Aṭā, the founder of the Mu'tazila (Comm. p. 11³³), was suffering from a linguistic defect and was consequently unable to pronounce the letter *Râ*. He bears a deadly hatred towards the ultra-Shiitic poet Bashshâr b. Burd, who had derogated him in one of his poems. Wâsil bitinglly retorts: he would hire assassins to dispose of him *لولا أن الغيلة*

خلق من أخلاق الغالية "were not assassination a specific quality of the Gâliya."⁴ Here the narrator remarks: Wâsil said

Gâliya المنصورية ولا المغيرة (Kâmil, ib.) "but he did not say al-Manṣûriyya nor al-Muġiriyya,"—two ultra-Shiitic sects known for their terroristic practices⁵—because of the *Râ* contained in their names. This remark of the narrator is reproduced *Agh.* with a significant variant: *ولم يقل الرافضة* *Wâsil said Gâliya, but not Râfiḥa*. To the narrator in *Agh.* then the two expressions seemed synonymous.⁶

¹ *Scil.* "of the Zaidiyya." The Jârûdiyya appears everywhere as the first sect of the Zaidiyya, cf. Shahr. 118¹, Ijī 352, Makr. 352²⁴, comp.

Text 42¹⁷. Tab. III, 1617 says: *الجارودية والزيدية*, taking the former as an independent sect.

² Probably referring to the various sections of the *Imâmîyya*.

³ It is not clear whether *الرافضة* or *الرائضة* is to be read.

⁴ To whom Bashshâr (Comm. 24²) belonged.

⁵ See Comm. 92¹² ff

⁶ It is possible that this meaning of the word is unconsciously present in I. H.'s mind when he declares (Comm. 62²=Ed. II. 78⁴): "the Rawâfiḍ do not belong to the Muslims." For the Imamites are not excluded by I. H. from the community of Islam (cf. p. 152, n. 2). On the other hand, the belief in "Tabdîl" with which the Rawâfiḍ are charged in the above-mentioned passage is characteristic of the *Imamites* (cf. *Text* 51¹).

This application, however, cannot be said to be more than incidental. Often enough it is impossible to distinguish it from the usages enumerated before, the "Exaggerators" being at the same time "Repudiators."¹ Besides, the Ġāliya never became an independent organism as did the Imāmiyya. The constituency of the Ġāliya is as fluctuating as is the name, which only later and even then not uncontestedly became the technical term for Ultra Shiites.² At any rate, the cases in which Rawāfiḍ appears as a synonym of Ġāliya are counterbalanced by the examples in which they are distinctly kept asunder. Thus Jāhiz (van Vloten, Worgers, p. 58 ult.) expressly says **الرافضة ثم الغالية**. I. H. draws a similar line of distinction. Cf. *Text* 42¹⁸ (= Ed. IV, 179^v) **الجارودية من الزيدية ثم الإمامية من الرافضة ثم الغالية**. In other passages he uses the expression **الرافضة**³ **ثم الغالية**, applying the word in the general sense of "Repudiators": *Text* 30¹¹ (= Ed. I, 113¹¹), Ed. IV, 296¹¹, or **غالية الرافضة** Ed. V, 117¹³.

Vastly different from the applications recorded till now is the use of Rawāfiḍ as a synonym of *Shi'a*, embracing *all* Shiitic sects, *the Zaidiyya included*. This generalization is probably

and *Comm.* 61¹⁰).—Strange is the meaning implied in our word in the anecdote *Agh.* XII. 23²⁰: A company of poets is sitting at the wine table. The poet Maṣṣūr an-Namarī refuses to partake of the forbidden liquor. He is thus accosted by the company: "You only refrain from wine drinking because you are a *Rāfiḍī* . . . not from piety." I have found no reference testifying to a particular scrupulousness of the Shiites as regards wine drinking. On the contrary, certain Shiitic sects and individuals are accused of transgressing this prohibition (cf. *Text* 62¹⁴, *Comm.* 14²⁰, 28²⁰), not to mention the modern Shiites, at least, as far as they are represented by the Persians.

¹ Thus *Comm.* 42⁴ it is difficult to say whether the Rāfiḍa are designated as such because of the extravagant belief referred to there or because of their exclusive adherence to Ali, which implies the repudiation of the other Companions.

² Muḥaddasī still uses the term in an entirely different sense (cf. p. 145, n. 2.) See also *Comm.* 12⁵ ff.

³ *Comp.* p. 150 n. 5.

⁴ Similarly Shahr. 8¹³ **الغلاة من الروافض**.

the outcome of a more hostile attitude toward the Shiites, particularly towards the Zeidiyya, on the part of the Sunnites, who now indiscriminately brand by this derogatory term all those who swerve from the Sunna.¹ Thus the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, bluntly declares: **الروافض من كبر الفرق الإسلامية وتسمى بالشيعة أيضًا**. Bagd. and Isfr., who elaborately derive the origin of the word from Zeid b. Ali, consistently apply Rawāfiḍ to all the sects of the Shi'a without exception. To quote a few examples out of many: Bagd. 6¹ **ثم افترقت الرافضة اربعة اصناف زيديّة وامامية وكيسانية في بيان مقالات فِرَق الرّفَضُ، قد 9¹ (cf. *ibidem* 22¹), والغلاة، الزيديّة من الرافضة 7¹، ذكرنا من قبل هذا ان الزيديّة منهم ومن رآه من 112¹⁰، بدّع الرافضة الزيديّة والرافضة الامامية 93¹⁰ الرافضة زيديّا او اماميًا مائلًا الى الطّعن في أخبار الصحابة². As the Zeidiyya and Imamiyya, so are the Gulāt and their various sections counted among the Rawāfiḍ: fol. 103¹ **الرافضة الغالية**, 103¹⁰ **السبائية الغلاة من الرافضة** 14¹, **الروافض الغلاة** 99¹⁰ **السبائية من الرافضة**.¹ Isfr.'s use of the word is identical**

¹ This again may be explained by the change in the attitude of the Zeidiyya themselves,—for it is only with reference to the Zeidiyya that *this* usage of our word differs from the one preceding it. Thus Shahrastāni, having narrated the incident with Zeid b. Ali *anno* 122^b, observes (p. 118^b): **ومالت اكثر الزيديّة بعد ذلك عن القول بامامة**

المفضول وطعنّت في الصحابة طعن الامامية. For a characteristic example of this changed attitude see Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I. 33 n. 2.—Miṣbāḥ's remark (quoted by Lane s.v. **روافض**) probably refers to the same fact: "Afterwards (i. e., after Zeid b. Ali) this appellation became applied to all persons . . . speaking against the Companions."

² Cf. preceding note.

³ Cf. *Comm.* 41¹⁷.

⁴ Wellhausen's statement (*Opp.* 96, n. 1): "Sabaijja ist ein älterer, Rāfiḍa ein späterer Name für dieselbe Sache" is not in accordance with the facts set forth above.

with that of Bagd.: Isfr. 8^b **الروافض تجمعهم ثلاثة فرق الزيدية** **الروافض من جملتهم الزيديون** 7^a. والامامية والكيسانية¹ Makrîzî in his account on Muhammedan sects employs the word in the same general sense, including among the Rawâfiq the Imâmiyya as well as the Zeidiyya.² This usage is also found much earlier. IKot. 300 presupposes it when he remarks: **الزيدية هم منتسبون الى زيد بن علي المقتول وهم اقل الرافضة غلوًا غير أنهم يرون الخروج مع من خرج**.³ The same meaning is apparently assumed Tab. III, 1465 (*anno* 241): a man recites before Mutawakkil a poem against the *Râfiqa* in which it is argued that a daughter has no hereditary claims, and receives from the overjoyed Caliph 10,000 Dirhems and the governorship of Bahrein and Yamâma. This argument, which is directed against the descendants of *Fâtima*, affects the Zeidiyya as well as the Imâmiyya.⁴

Ibn Hazm seems to refrain from this unrestricted use of the word. The only exception—and this perhaps a deceptive one—⁵ is found *Ti. et* 40¹¹ (= Ed. IV, 178¹²), where, instead of the

¹ The Gulât are excluded from Islam. Bagdâdî, who counts four sections (p. 155¹⁰), is inconsistent. cf. p. 151, n. 8.

² Makrîzî's statement (*Comm.* 12⁴) may apply to the Shî'a in general or to the Imâmiyya of whom he speaks in the quoted passage. On the relation of the Mu'tazila to the Imâmiyya, see also Goldziher, *Shî'a*, p. 484.

³ This is apparently the source for *Ikd* 269: **ومن الرافضة الزيدية: وهم اصحاب زيد بن علي المقتول بخراسان وهم اقل الرافضة غلوًا غير أنهم يرون الخروج مع كل من خرج**. This usage is somewhat inconsistent with the statement p. 148. Elsewhere (cf. *Comm.* 26⁵) *Ikd* designates as Rawâfiq those who believe in the "return" of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya, i. e., the Keisâniyya.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 21. Snouck-Hurgronje's observation (*Mekka* I, 34): "im 12. Jahrhundert konnte man die Zeiditen Arabiens als Râfidhiten bezeichnen, weil sie *dort* und *damals* den Orthodoxen schroff gegenüberstanden" must needs be amplified: the designation of the Zeidiyya as Rawâfiq is older than the 12. century and by no means restricted to Arabia.

⁵ For the author speaks of the "depravities" of these sects, cf. Introduction, p. 22.

superscription of Ed. and Y. *من أقوال اهل البدع المعتزلة*

¹ *بـ* *بدع الرافضة والخوارج*, L. and Br. read *والمرجئة والشيع*
والمعتزلة والمرجئة

Those who have perused the material presented in this appendix with some measure of attention will have observed that the word *Shi'a*—not unlike *Rawāfiḍ*—is not a sharply and definitely circumscribed term but is subject to not inconsiderable modifications. In distinction from *Rawāfiḍ*, the term *Shi'a* has nothing objectionable or derogatory about it³: the Shiites themselves unhesitatingly assume this appellation.⁴ To the Sunnites as well, owing to the ever increasing prevalence of pro-Alidic sentiments among the masses,⁵ *Shi'a* even in the sense of "Shi'at 'Alī" conveys no objectionable meaning,—this, as it were, respectable character of the word being, in our opinion, the main reason for the gradual spread of *Rawāfiḍ* at its expense. The application of *Shi'a* by the Sunnites, just as that of *Rawāfiḍ*, is largely conditioned by their attitude towards the Zeidiyya. The disagreement between the Sunna and Zeidiyya is not one of deep-seated antagonism. In point of fact, the whole difference reduces itself to the question as to the candidacy for the Imamate. According to the Zeidiyya, the Imamate is confined to the descendants of Fāṭima⁶; the Sunnites extend it to the whole of Kureish. Since, however, the Sunnites for the most part agree with the Zeidiyya as to the excellence of

¹ Cf. also *Comm.* 21⁵.

² The former superscription however is the original one, see the reference quoted *Text* 40, n. 3.

³ Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Shahr. 143* (in a quotation from Ibn an-Nu'mān, *Comm.* 59³), also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 470, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. ZDMG. 50, 111.

⁶ i. e., Hasanides as well as Huseinides,—provided, of course, their personal fitness (cf. *Text* 75⁷ ff. and *Comm.*).—Wellhausen's assumption (*Opp.* 98): "Sie (die Zeidijja) unterscheiden sich von der Rāfiḍa durch ihr Eintreten für das Haus Husains" contradicts one of the fundamental tenets of the Zeidiyya. That Zeid b. Ali was a descendant of Husein was mere chance and wholly indifferent to the Zeidiyya or to Zeid himself. Cf. *Comm.* 22¹¹ ff.

Ali and his family, and the Zeidiyya, on the other hand, agree with the Sunnites as to the legitimacy of the two Elders, the gap between them seems practically to close. "The Zeidiyya," says Makr. 354⁷, "are the best among the Shi'a, for they admit the Imamate of Abû Bekr and deny the existence of a written will concerning the Imamate of Ali." This stands to reason why Muḥaddasi, e. g., places the Zeidiyya *outside* the Shi'a, applying the latter term to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections of the Shi'a. Thus p. 38 n. *d* (see above p. 142 n. 6): عند الزيدية . . . الشيعة, or p. 37¹¹: والشيعة على الزيدية والأفضلون, "the Shi'a prevailed upon the Zeidiyya," or p. 128¹ الخلفاء الأربعة وقد علمت ما يقول فيهم الخوارج وجُهل الشيعة. The "stupid Shiites" can only refer to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections,¹ as the Zeidiyya, on the whole, refrain from attacking the four Caliphs.²

It is nothing but a different consequence of the same attitude of mind when, on the contrary, we find that the term *Shi'a*, without any objectionable by-meaning,³ is applied to the Zeidiyya, *to the exclusion of the Imâmiyya* who are designated as Rawâfid. This is clearly the case with the utterance of *Ikd.* p. 148⁴ and the ḥadith p. 146 (cf. p. 147 n. 2). It may also be applicable in the phrase الشيعة والرافضة, of which several examples were quoted p. 147 f., notably so in the case of *IKhald.* p. 148.⁵

With the rise within the Zeidiyya of sections which, unfaithful to their founder, did not refrain from the "denunciation of the Companions,"⁶ the attitude of the Sunna became one of hostility and the term Shi'a, gradually assuming a distinct

¹ This is clearly shown by the variant (note *a*) ما يقول فيهم الخوارج والروافض من المثالب وما يقول العقلاء من الحسن.

² As different from Zeidiyya, *Shi'a* is also applied by Masudi, see p. 152.

³ Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

⁴ This is in contradiction with *Ikd.* p. 156, n. 3. But the latter passage is borrowed from Ibn Koteiba, see ib.

⁵ Ibn Khaldûn speaks of their *writings*, which would point to a dogmatically consolidated sect.

⁶ Cf. p. 155, n. 1. The sect mentioned *Comm.* 75 limits the Imamate to the Ḥasanides, yet indulges in the denunciation of the Companions.

heterodox character, was now applied to all sects of Shiism, from the Zeidiyya to its farthest ramifications, the Ġulât.¹

Lastly, mention must be made of a term used by the Shiites for the same polemical purposes as was *Rawâfiḍ* by the Sunnites. We refer to the expression *Nawâṣib*, which seems to have been patterned after *Rawâfiḍ*.² Ample information about the meaning and history of this designation can be drawn from Goldziher's writings.³ Originally *Nawâṣib* stood for the exact reverse of *Rawâfiḍ*: the "enemies" or "haters" (of Ali),⁴ and was confined to the extreme Kharijites. Gradually its meaning expanded so that it finally embraced all Sunnites, however far they were from hating Ali.

In addition we may remark that the Imâmiyya polemically apply the same term even to the Zeidiyya, with whom the superiority of Ali is a cardinal doctrine. Kashi 149 quotes Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq as saying: *الزَيْدِيَّةُ هُمُ النَّصَابِ*. Further utterances of a similar tendency can be found in the same passage.

¹ So nearly all writers.—On the relation of the Ġulât to the Shi'a comp. Introduction, p. 21 and Index s.v. Shi'a.

² Cf. Muḳaddasi 38⁷: *واما اربعة لقب بها اهل الحديث فالحشوية والشكك والنواصب والحجبة*; *فاما الملقبة فالروافض* ibidem 37¹⁶; *والحجبة والمرجئة والشكك*. Thus the Hashwiyya correspond with the Murji'a and the Nawâṣib with the Rawâfiḍ.

³ *Shi'a* 491 ff., ZDMG. 36, 281. *Muh. St.* II, 120.

⁴ *Muḳîṭ al-Muḳîṭ* explains it in this way: *نصبوا له أي عادوه*.

⁵ The form *Nuṣṣâb*, which occurs several times in Kashi, is not recorded in the dictionaries.

1. ALI (k, 40)

¹ This list is primarily based on *Gen. Leyd.* For the twelve Imams the data of IKot. 108 ff. and Diyārbekrī (cf. *Comm.* 78^{ss}) have been utilized. The persons whose names appear in italics are mentioned in this treatise and are registered in the Index; the others are mere links in the genealogical chain. The dates of death differ considerably in the various sources. I have frequently followed IKot.—d. = died; k. = killed. According to the *Imāmiyya*, *all* Imams, except the twelfth (the Mahdi), were killed (see *Comm.* 30¹⁵ ff. and the list quoted 78^{ss}). I merely followed the historical data. The Imams of the Ithnāshariyya and Sab'iyya have been marked by figures. The titles of the Imams are numerous. Only one has been given in each case. The children of a single man are arranged according to age, as they are given in *Gen. Leyd.* Wüstenfeld, *Tubellen* (list Y and Z) frequently differs in this respect.

⁴ I. 51¹⁷ omitted through oversight. Cf. II. 63².

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¹ The authorities quoted *as such* throughout the treatise have been excluded from this index. On account of lack of space only the most important items have been specified. Unless otherwise stated, the names are those of *persons*. The words ending in *-iyya* designate *sects*. The latter appear under the heading of the person to which they belong, a cross-reference always indicating that person. The words printed in italics will be found as special items. The quotations refer to line and page. Where the line is left out, the whole page or most of it deals with that item. I. refers to the *first* part of this treatise (vol. xxviii. of this Journal); II. to the *second* (vol. xxix). In the alphabetical arrangement the article in its various forms and *b.* (=bnu) have not been counted. *s. v.* refers to the preceding *item* in italics; *ib.* to the preceding *figure*. *Fatha* is rendered by *a*, occasionally by *e*, *ḡamma* by *u* and *o*; the diphthong *fatha + yā* by *ai* and *ei*. A list of Arabic words is appended to this index.

- ‘*Alī* denying that he died. I. 45. II. 25, 30¹⁰, 43 f., 95¹¹, cf. 39⁹, 128¹⁰, and maintaining that in clouds. I. 45, II. 42¹⁵ ff. : belief in divinity of ‘*Alī*. I. 65 ult. ff., II. 17¹⁵, 99¹², cf. II. 91¹⁵ : banished by ‘*Alī*, II. 42 n. 1, 43 n. 6, or burned. II. 100 n. 1 : his adherents burned by ‘*Alī*, II. 99 f.
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- “ b ‘Ayāsh, see Ibn ‘Ayāsh.
- “ ‘l Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, author of *Agānī*. II. 144 n. 6.
- “ Ġifār, II. 12¹² f.
- “ Ḥanīfa. I. 29¹¹, II. 8⁹, 152 penult.
- “ Hāshim ‘Abdallah b. Muḥammed II. 89¹, 126¹. See Imamate. Hāshimiyya, II. 35¹⁰ ff., 89⁹.
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- “ Hureira ar-Rubūbadī, see Abū ‘l-‘Abbās.
- “ ‘Īsa al-Iṣfahānī, II. 90¹⁵.
- “ Ismā‘īl al-Biṭṭikhī, I. 30 ult., II. 11²⁴, 12¹⁴. Biṭṭikhiyya. I. 30 ult.
- “ ‘l Jārūd, called Surḥūb, II. 22⁹. Jārūdiyya. I. 42¹⁵, 43 f., 74¹³, II. 22, 136¹⁵, 153 n. 1. Surḥūbiyya, II. 22¹.
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*A Hymn to Bêl (Tablet 29644, CT. XV, Plates 11 and 12).*¹—By FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City.

ONE more very difficult hymn is herewith added to the hymns to Bêl already translated. Jastrow's *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* gives translations of several hymns to Bêl. My doctor's thesis (Columbia University, 1908) contains, besides hymns to Sin, Adad and Tammuz, a transliteration and translation of a hymn to Bêl from CT. XV never before published. There are still two more hymns to Bêl in CT. XV never yet translated, as far as I can learn, one of which is very difficult. Professor John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University intends before long to publish the whole collection of hymns in CT. XV, Plates 7 to 30. Indeed, it would be a valuable service to Assyriology to gather together in one collection all the hymns to Bêl that can be found, just as the Rev. Dr. E. Guthrie Perry has done with reference to Sin in his little work entitled *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin*, 1907.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

1. *en zu sá(DI)-mar-mar mu-lu-ta zu mu-un-zu*
Lord of wisdom, counsellor, who teacheth wisdom to man!
2. *da-imina-ma ù-mu-un-e è-kur-ra*
In Erech, lord of E-kur!
3. *ù-tu-ud-da har-sag-gà(MAL) ù-mu-un-e è-ninnu*
Begetter of light; mountain, lord of E-ninnu!
4. *ud-da nun gál (IG) a-a ^{dingir} en-lil-lá*
Light that is lordly, father Bêl!
5. *dùg(HI)-gà(MAL) ðim-me-ir mah-a ag-šù(KU) ti na-gub*
(DU)-bu
Unto him that doeth good to the exalted gods, thou orderest life.

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in this article: Br.=Brünnow's *Classified List*; CT.=*Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*; MSL.=J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*,

6. *kur tug*(KU)-*gim peš-peš-e še-gim kin*(KI) *a-su-ub-bu*
Creator of the inhabited lands, creator of broad grain-
fields, perfecter of government.
7. *sag zal*(NI)-*mar ki bal-a-a-zu-šù*(KU)
O chief that art glorious, against the land that is hostile to
thee;
8. *mu-e-te har-sag gul-la-zu-šù*(KU)
against him that approacheth thy mountain for destruction;
9. *kur érim*(NE-RU)-*šù*(KU) *gi dūl*(ÁŠ) *dù*(KAK)-*a-gim*
ka-ni ú-ú-gi
against the land of the enemy thou turnest, as a burning
one who turneth his face.
10. *kur-kur ur-a ne-ib*(TUM)-*ág*(ŠA)-*ág*(ŠA)-*gi*
The hostile land thou destroyest.
11. *kur-kur-bad-gal ga- gāl*(MAL)-*e si ág*(ŠA)-*ga me-en*
The great walled lands which are endowed with plenty
thou subduest.
12. *sag an-ta-ne ne-ib*(TUM)-*ra-ra-ra*
In the top of heaven thou dwellest (well established).
13. ^{gish} *gál*(IG) *an-na-ge*(KIT) *ne-ib*(TUM) - *gub*(DU) - *guh*
(DU)-*bī*
In the door of heaven thou standest.
14. ^{gish} *šú-di-eš an-na-ge*(KIT) *ne-ib*(TUM)-*gar*(ŠA)-*gar*(ŠA)-
ri-ne.
On the threshold of heaven thou art stationed.
15. ^{gish} *sag-kul an-na-ge*(KIT) *im-si-il-li-en*
In the vestibule of heaven thou art exalted.
16. ^{gish} *si-gar*(ŠA) *an-na-ge*(KIT) *im-bu-en*
At the bar of the gate of heaven thou appearest.
17. *kur nu-še-ga zar-ri-eš pi*(?)-*pi*(?)-*e-en*
Of the land which heareth not, which listeneth(?) obsti-
nately(?),
18. *ki-bal nu-še-gu ki gab nu-gí-gí*
of the hostile land which heareth not, of the opposing land
that turneth not,
19. *en me-en gú*(KA) *ur-a úg*(ŠA)-*ga-zu li iz-nu-be-ne-en*
lord thou art. To him that maketh hostile cry against
thee thou, thou wilt give no rest(?).

20. *ša*(LIB)-*ib*(TUM)-*ba-zu a-ba ib*(TUM)-*ri*(?)*-sá*(DI)-*ne*
The heart of thy wrath, who can rival it !
21. *ka-ta é*(UD-DU)-*a-zu sig*(PA) *hen-nu-di-ní*(NIN)
What goeth out of thy mouth, may no sceptre condemn it(?) !
22. *za-da a-ba-a in-na-bal-e*
Unto thee who can break entrance !
23. *en me-en nè*(GIR) *an azag-ga me-en ká-gál*(IG) *un-e*(?)
me (?)*-en*(?)
Lord thou art; the power of the shining heavens thou art;
the gate of the land thou art.
24. *ha ab má*(SAR) *ag-a-mu hu an*(?)*-nu ni-ri*(?)
Of the fish of the deep that swarm in shoals, of the birds
of heaven that fly about (?),
25. *uru . . lu è*(BIT) *uru šub*(RU) ^{*dingir*} *en-lil-[lá-me]-en*
of the cities . . . , of the dedicated temple of the city,
thou art Bêl.
26. *ù-mu-un kaskal-gà*(MAL) *ur-saig-gà*(MAL) . . . *me-[en*
Lord of campaigns, hero . . . thou art.
27. *nim zi-da-zu mulu ne*
The elevation of thy right hand, which . . .

REVERSE.

28.
29.
30. *zu ki ga nu*
31. *bá e kuš*(TAR)-*da-zu mulu nu-mu*
. thy judgment (?), which
32. *di ne* ^{*dingir*} *mu-ul- lil-lá*
. Bêl
33. *è-kur-ra da suš-suš*
. from E-kur far away
34. *dingir-ri-e-ne-me-en*
. of the gods thou art.
35. ^{*dingir*} *a-nun-ge*(KIT)-*e-ne me-en*
. of the Anunnaki thou art.
36. ^{*dingir*} *en-lil-lá me-en*
. Bêl thou art.
37. ^{*dingir*} *a-nun-ge*(KIT)-*e-ne me-en*
. of the Anunnaki thou art.

38. *en* ^{qish} *sar*(?)*-ra* ^{dingir} *en-lil-lá me-en*

Lord of . . . Bêl thou art.

Colophon. *eš-ussa ér*(A-ŠI) *līm*(LUL)-*ma* ^{dingir} *en-lil-lá-kam*

38 lines. Penitential Psalm of Bêl.

COMMENTARY.

1. *en zu sá*(DI)-*mar-mar mu-lu-ta zu mu-un-zu*

Lord of wisdom, counsellor, who teacheth wisdom to man!

mar-mar is ES for the EK *gar* (ŠA)-*gar*(ŠA) and equals *šakānu*, 'establish' (Br. 9552, 5823 and 5820), *sá*(DI) being equal to *mīlku*, 'counsel' (Br. 9531). The verb *zu* equals *lamādu* (Br. 131), which in the causative stem means 'teach.'

2. *da-imina-ma ù-mu-un-e è-kur-ra*

In Erech, lord of E-kur!

da-imina, meaning 'seven sides,' occurs a few times as the ideogram for Uruk (Br. 6696). We know that Erech was a walled town called in Sumerian *bað unug^{ki}-ga* (OBI. 26. 5). *ma*, no doubt, follows *da-imina* with the significance 'land:': *ma* = *mātu* (Br. 6774). *è-kur-ra* is the name of Bêl's temple in Nippur. While Erech appears at the time of this writing to have been a literary center and was doubtless the seat of royal power, Nippur was looked upon as the religious center, Bêl being the chief of the gods.

3. *ù-tu-ud-da ħar-sag-gà*(MAL) *ù-mu-un-e è-ninnū*

Begetter of light; mountain, lord of E-ninnu!

ù-tu-ud-da = *alādu* (Br. 1070); *ù* is an abstract prefix; *tu* = 'beget,' *ud* = 'day,' or 'light,' and *da* is a phonetic complement. *ù-tu-ud-da* is sometimes translated in Assyrian by the participle *aldu* (IV R. 15, Obv., Col. II, lines 21 and 22) = 'begetter.' *ħar-sag* = *šadā*, 'mountain' (Br. 8553); literally, 'circular head,' or 'peak.' *gà*(MAL) seems to be a phonetic complement.

4. *ud-da nun gál*(IG) *a-a* ^{dingir} *en-lil-lá*

Light that is lordly, father Bêl!

nun = *rubā* and *gál*(IG) = *bašā*. Bêl's name occurs once in the Obverse and twice in the Reverse, as well as once in the Colophon. In line 32, the ES form seems to be given.

5. *dùg*(HI)-*gà*(MAL) *dim-me-ir maḥ-a ag-šù*(KU) *tì na-gub*(DU)-*bu*

Unto him that doeth good to the exalted gods, thou orderest life.

dùg(HI) = *ṭābu* (Br. 8239); the identity of the sign would seem to be assured by the phonetic complement *ga. maḥ* = *šīru* (Br. 1047), 'exalted.' *ag* = *epēšu* (Br. 2778). *šù*(KU) = *ana* (Br. 10562). *gub*(DU) = *nazāzu*, 'stand' (Br. 4893).

6. *kur tug*(KU)-*gim peš-peš-e še-gim kin*(KI) *a-su-ub-bu*

Creator of the inhabited lands, creator of the broad grain-fields, perfecter of government.

tug(KU) = *šabātu*, 'take possession of' (Br. 10551). *še* = *šeu*, 'grain' (Br. 7433), and is apparently a Semitic value, or else *šeu* is a Sumerian loan-word in Semitic. The sign-name is Ū-UM. *kin*(KI) = *tērtu*, 'government' (Br. 10756); the sign KI means 'turn.' *su-ub* = *šuklulu*, 'perfect' (Br. 206), and is phonetic for a value for which we seem at present to have no sign.

7. *sag zal*(NI)-*mar ki bal-a-a-zu-šù*(KÜ)

O chief that art glorious, against the land that is hostile to thee;

zal(NI) = *namāru*, 'bright' (Br. 5319); this is a secondary meaning, the primary meaning of NI being 'oil.' *bal-a-a-zu*: reduplicated *a* as a vowel prolongation is unusual.

8. *mu-e-te ḥar-sag gul-la-zu-šù*(KU)

against him that approacheth thy mountain for destruction;

mu-e is a verbal prefix (Br., p. 532). *te*, verb = *teḥū*, 'attack' (Br. 7688).

9. *kur érim*(NE-RU)-*šù*(KU) *gi dīl*(ÁŠ) *dù*(KAK)-*a-gim*
ka-ni ú-ú-gi

against the land of the enemy thou turnest, as a burning one who turneth his face.

érim(NE-RU) = *raggu*, 'bad' (Br. 4607). *gi* = *tāru*, 'turn' (Br. 2405). *dīl*(ÁŠ) = *edu*, 'one' (MSL., pp. 77 and 40). *dù*(KAK)-*a* = *ḥamātu*, 'burn' (Br. 5298). *ú-ú-gi*: *ú* is a verbal prefix (MSL., p. xxiv).

10. *kur-kur ur-a ne-ib*(TUM)-*ág*(ŠA)-*ág*(ŠA)-*gi*

The hostile land thou destroyest.

ur-a: *ur* = *nakru*, 'hostile' (Br. 11263); the primary value being *kalbu*, 'dog.' *ni-ib*(TUM) is a verbal infix (MSL., p. xxxiii). *ág*(ŠA) = *raḥāṣu*, 'destroy' (Br. 11973); possibly the value could be *nig* or *ig*.

11. *kur-kur-bad- gal ga-gāl*(MAL)-*e si ág*(ŠA)-*ga me-en*

The great walled lands which are endowed with plenty
thou subduest.

ga-gāl(MAL)-*e* means 'established plenty,' *ga* being equal primarily to *tulū*, 'teat,' and then *šizbu*, 'milk' (Br. 6114). *e* is probably vocalic. *si* = *malū*, 'full' (Br. 3393). *me-en* = *atta*, 'thou' (Br. 10402).

12. *sag an-ta-ne ne-ib*(TUM)-*ra-ra-ra*

In the top of heaven thou dwellest (well established).

ra = *ašābu*, 'dwell' (Br. 6355). Note the triple reduplication of *ra-ra-ra*.

13. ^{*gish*} *gāl*(IG) *an-na-ge*(KIT) *ne-ib*(TUM) - *gub*(DU) - *gub*(DU)-*bi*

In the door of heaven thou standest.

^{*gish*} *gāl*(IG) = *daltu*, 'door' (Br. 2239).

14. ^{*gish*} *šú-di-eš an-na-ge*(KIT) *ne-ib*(TUM)-*gar*(ŠA)-*gar*(ŠA)-*ri-ne*

On the threshold of heaven thou art stationed.

šú-di-eš is dialectic for *šú-diš* and ^{*gish*} *šú-diš* = *mēdilu*, 'threshold' (Br. 7227 and 7232). *gar*(ŠA) = *šakānu*, 'station' (Br. 11978). *-ne* may indicate pl. excellentiae.

15. ^{*gish*} *sag-kul an-na-ge*(KIT) *im-si-il-li-en*

In the vestibule of heaven thou art exalted.

^{*gish*} *sag-kul* = *sikkāru*, 'vestibule' (Br. 3545). *si-il* = *zakāru*, 'exalt' (Br. 3447). *si-il* is no doubt phonetic here and different from the value *sīl*(TAR), 'fashion.' The suffix *en* is probably = *me-en*, 'thou art.'

16. ^{*gish*} *si-gar*(ŠA) *an-na-ge*(KIT) *im-bu-en*

At the bar of the gate of heaven thou appearest.

^{*gish*} *si-gar*(ŠA) = *šīgaru*, 'bar' (Br. 3469), evidently the bolt that locked the gate or door. *bu* = *namāru*, 'appear' (Br. 7525).

17. *kur nu-še-ga zar-ri-eš pi(?) -pi(?) -e-en*

Of the land which heareth not, which listeneth (?) obstinately(?),

še-ga = *šemā*, 'hear' (Br. 7477). *zar*: the sign is the enclosure-sign containing the sign ŠE, but the meaning of *zar* seems not to be well established; perhaps it means 'opposition' (MSL. p. 314, *šesi*). *zar-ri-eš* seems to be an adverb qualifying *pi(?) -pi(?)*, which means 'listen.' *pi(?) -pi(?)*: the signs here are uncertain.

18. *ki-bal nu-še-ga ki gab nu-gī-gī*

of the hostile land which heareth not, of the opposing land which turneth not,

gab = *irtu*, 'breast' (Br. 4477), hence 'opposing'. *gī* = *tāru*, 'turn' (Br. 6331).

19. *en me-en gū(KA) ur-a āg(ŠA)-ga-zu li iz-nu-be-ne-en*

lord thou art. To him that maketh hostile cry against thee thou, thou wilt give no rest (?).

gū(KA) = *kibū*, 'speak' (Br. 531). *āg(ŠA)* can equal *epēšu*, 'make' (Br. 11958), as well as *raḥāšu* (see line 10). *li* can equal *atta* (Br. 1101). *be* = *pašāhu*, 'be quiet,' (MSL., p. 56), the prefix *iz* being second person (MSL., p. xxviii). The copyist seems quite uncertain about the signs of this line.

20. *šà(LIB)-ib(TUM)-ba-zu a-ba ib(TUM)-ri(?) -sá(DI)-ne*

The heart of thy wrath, who can rival it!

ib(TUM) = *agāgu*, 'wrath' (Br. 4954). *a-ba* = *mannu*, 'who' (Br. 11370). *ib(TUM)* can be a prefix as well as an infix. *ri(?)*, if it is *ri*, can be a directive infix (MSL., p. xxiv). *sá(DI)* = *šanānu*, 'rival' (Br. 9539).

21. *ku-ta ē(UD-DU)-a-zu sig(PA) hen-nu-dī-ní(NIN).*

What goeth out of thy mouth, may no sceptre condemn it (?).

ē = *ašu*, 'go out' (Br. 7873). *dī* = *dānu*, 'judge' (Br. 9525).

22. *za-da a-ba-a in-na-bal-e*

Unto thee who can break entrance!

bal = *ebēru*, 'pass over' (Br. 266).

23. *en me-en nē(GIR) an azag-gu me-en ká-gál(IG) un-e(?) me(?) -en(?)*

Lord thou art, the power of the shining heavens thou art; the gate of the land thou art.

nè(GIR): the most common value of the sign is *gir*, 'foot,' but the sign also, with the value *nè*, = *emūku*, 'power' (Br. 9184).

24. *ḥa ab má*(SAR) *ag-a-mu ḥu an*(?)*-nu ni-ri*(?)

Of the fish of the deep that swarm in shoals, of the birds of heaven that fly about(?),

má(SAR) = *ašū*, 'go out,' and *ag* = *epēšu*, 'make' (see line 5). *mu* is an indeterminate relative pronoun. *má-ag-a-mu*, literally 'which make a going out.' *ri*(?) = *parāšu*, 'fly' (Br. 2571). The *nu* after *an* is curious and unusual. A correct rendering is obscured by the break in the text.

25. *uru . . lu è*(BIT) *uru šub*(RU) ^{*dingir*}*en-lil-[lú-me]-en*

of the cities . . ., of the dedicated temple of the city, thou art Bēl.

šub(RU) = *nadānu*, 'give' (Br. 1435).

26. *ù-mu-un kaskal-gà*(MAL) *ur-sag-gà*(MAL) . . . *me-en*

Lord of campaigns, hero . . . thou art.

kaskal = *ḥarrānu*, 'road' (Br. 4457).

27. *nim zi-da-zu mulu ne . . .*

The elevation of thy right hand, which . . .

nim = *elā*, 'be high' (Br. 9013).

REVERSE.

Colophon. *eš-ussa ér*(A-ŠI) *lim*(LUL)-*ma* ^{*dingir*}*en-lil-lá-kam*
38 lines. Penitential Psalm to Bēl.

ussa = 'eight.' *ér*(A-ŠI) *ḫibītu* and *lim*(b) = *kurū* (Br. 7271).

Notes on a Few Inscriptions.—By CHARLES' C. TORREY,
Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.



A. On "Ereš Rešūf" in the Bod-ʿAštart Inscription.

SOME time ago, in an article published in this Journal (vol. xxiii, pp. 164 f.; cf. xxiv, 215), I expressed the opinion that the three terms צִדֹן ים "Sidon-by-the-Sea", שָׁמַם רִמֹם "High-Heavens", and אֶרֶץ רִשָּׁף "the Rešūf (or Rešef) District", in the royal inscription found on the stones of the great temple of Ešmūn recently excavated near Sidon, were used to designate respectively the Sidonian promontory (where the city now stands); the hill district on the east, running north as far as the Auwaly river; and the long strip of plain between the two. How far southward the "Rešūf land" may have extended, I did not attempt to decide, though expressing a doubt as to whether it included the open district south of the city, where is found at the present day the extensive complex of tomb caverns cut in the rock, called by the natives *Maghāret Ablūn*, or "Grotto of Apollo"; though why it should have been given his name has always been a riddle.

It has recently occurred to me that this last-mentioned name is really the modern survival of the old Phoenician אֶרֶץ רִשָּׁף. The god Rešūf (or Rešef) was the Semitic equivalent of the Greek Apollo, both in Phoenicia and in Egypt, as every one knows. The two were commonly identified in ancient times. The district which had been so long called by the name of the Phoenician deity was styled the "Apollo district" during the centuries of Graeco-Roman occupation of the land. At last, when the only distinctive thing left in the region was the necropolis, the name of Apollo still clung to this. An interesting parallel to the survival is found in the name of the ruin Arsūf, أَرْسُوف, on the coast a few hours north of Jaffa. This is the Ἀπολλωνία of the Greek geographers, as is well known. In this case, as in very many others, the old Semitic name held its place so tenaciously as even to outlast the Greek substitute.

This identification, while it does not enable us to locate definitely the three main districts of ancient Sidon, does at least give us another fixed point. "Sidon-on-the-Sea" was the cape, the site of the oldest settlement and of the citadel. "High-Heavens" extended to the extreme *northern* limit of the Sidonian territory, for the temple of Esmūn on the mountain slope above the Auwaly river is the same one which is designated in the Esmunazar inscription, line 17, as situated "in 'Mighty-Heavens' (שָׁמַיִם אֲדָרִים), in the mountain," as I have shown elsewhere (*ibid.*, xxiii, 167; xxiv, 214f.)¹ The "Rešūf-Land" included at least a part of the plain on the *south*. This suggests the possibility that the principle of division between the two inland districts was simply the geographical one, the territory on the south being given one specific name, and that on the north another.

B. The "Ankh" Symbol on Hebrew Seals.

When I published the old Hebrew seal of Joshua ben Asaiah, in vol. xxiv of this Journal, pp. 205 f., I was unable to explain the origin of the ornamental device  which appears between the two lines of the inscription. I see now, however, that it is merely an adaptation of a twofold *ankh* sign , the Egyptian symbol of life.

The magical power of this symbol, as is well known, was in high repute in Asia as well as in Egypt. It appears again and

¹ It is very much to be desired that the well which I have identified (*ibid.*, xxiii, 167f.) with the עֵין יְרֵלֵל of the Esmunazar inscription, situated on the hillside near the temple of Esmūn, together with the ancient and important aqueduct to whose water it gives access, should be thoroughly investigated. The aqueduct brings the water of the Auwaly river to the gardens of Sidon, and is apparently of ancient construction. If the identification just mentioned is correct, it then follows that the aqueduct is at least as old as the Esmunazar dynasty; and the probability would be strong that the ease with which its water could be reached at this point was one of the two chief considerations which led to the choice of this site for the temple, the other being the fine situation on the hill with the view toward the east. See also the remarks of Macridy-Bey, *Le Temple d' Echmoun à Sidon* (1904), pp. 37 f., cf. p. 16, who believes the aqueduct to be of Phoenician origin.

again on Phoenician and Hittite cylinders, and even on Israelite seals it has not been unknown. The now celebrated seal of Šema', servant of Jeroboam, shows this device on either side of the lion in the center; not, however, carved in the stone, but painted on the surface—apparently by an afterthought on the part of the owner, who wished to give to the seal this added talismanic virtue. See the description by Kautzsch in the ZDPV., 1904, p. 3.

Another example of the same kind is furnished by the seal impressions on the clay contract tablet recently excavated at Gezer. The tablet, which is inscribed in the cuneiform characters, is stamped by the seal of one of the owners of the property, presumably a Hebrew, and on this seal the *ankh* sign holds a very conspicuous place. See the PEF. *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1904.

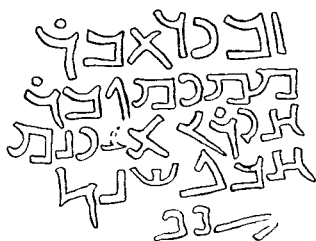
C. On Some Palmyrene Inscriptions.


I have recently received from Dr. Hans Spoer, of Jerusalem, photographs and squeezes of those much discussed Palmyrene inscriptions from Damascus which were originally published by Jaussen in the *Revue Biblique*, 1897, pp. 592 ff.; then by D. H. Müller in the *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xlv (1898); then by Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 257 ff.; and which have been treated to some extent by several other scholars, see Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, I, 81, 212 f. It might seem hardly worth while to attempt to comment further on any of these inscriptions; however, some justification for these few added notes may be found in the fact that the former editors were obliged to rely solely upon squeezes, without the supplementary aid which photographs can give. I use, for convenience, the numbering of the inscriptions given in the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*.

140. It is not a "buste de femme," but that of a bearded man.

143. May not the second name in line 3 be اعينق (أَعِينَق) rather than اعيلم (أَعِيلَم)? The name would not be a remarkable one, though I do not know that it has been found elsewhere. Both on the squeeze and in the photograph

the penultimate letter looks only like **נ**, and the last letter might of course be **ק**. I subjoin a facsimile of the inscription.



151. The name in line 5 is apparently **ימי** . Both

squeeze and photograph seem to indicate this rather than **ימל** (of which it is very likely the contracted form).

152. There is no doubt as to the reading **פתיחב**. In all probability the **ב**, at least, owes its origin to the following **חבל**.

153. The name is **בת שתנא**, not **שתנא** alone. The squeeze makes this quite certain, and even in the photograph a part of the **ב** can be seen in the first line. The bust is that of a woman. The name in line 3 is of course **ימלא**. There seems to be no reason to suppose that any letters are missing in the last line; both squeeze and photograph indicate that the surface of the stone is uninjured here. Probably a proper name, **פנא**.

154. On the top of the curved object



(band

or hem of the robe?) which the woman holds in her hand are carved distinctly—as the squeeze shows—the words **בת עלמא**. Cf. No. 149, where the same words appear on the wand held by the man. Is there any significance in the choice of this place for the legend?

Müller, No. 14; cf. *Ephemeris* I, 81, 212. Not in the *Répertoire*. The name at the beginning of the last line

ענינא seems to be not **עירילא** (Müller), nor **עירנא**

(Chabot), nor **עריכא** (Lidzbarski), but **עריבא**. Elsewhere

(three times) in the inscription the **ב** has very nearly this same form.

Müller, No. 16 ; not in the *Répertoire*. In the fourth line, where Müller reads **לֹהֶ**, the letters seem to be **מלחא**. I give a facsimile of the whole inscription :

אֶלְצִמָּא	זלכת
אֶלְצִכֹּן	חליו
אֶלְצִמָּא	ברת
אֶלְצִמָּא	מלחא
אֶלְצִמָּא	עתיכא
אֶלְצִמָּא	חבל

The final **א** in the fourth line is certain, and the **מ** hardly to be doubted. The traces of the other letters seem sufficient to establish their identity. Cf. the proper name **מִלְחָא** in Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2136.

Répertoire, No. 721; *Ephemeris* II, 316. The inscription published by me in this Journal, xxv (1904), 320. The word **מִזְרִיתָא** in the last line had no final **א**, either at the end of the line or elsewhere on the stone. The squeeze, supported by the photograph, seems conclusive on this point. Is it not the most likely supposition that the stone-cutter was interrupted before carving the **א**? It seems to me extremely improbable that anything else than **מִזְרִיתָא** should have been intended. The suggestions made by Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, *ibid.*) are ingenious, but hardly plausible.

Répertoire, No. 743. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey in the *AJSL*, xxii, No. 8. Clermont-Ganneau is very probably right in conjecturing **עברעסתור** instead of **עברעבתון** in line 3. The squeeze does indeed seem to give the upper part of the fifth letter of the name as **ב** and not **ס**, but the paper contains a tangle of lines here. The final letter of the name

is faint, and might well have been intended for ך. In that case, the original, in Beirut, would probably show traces of the dot above, since in this inscription the letter ך is elsewhere thus pointed. It is likely that Professor Porter will be able to decide the question without difficulty.¹

Répertoire, No. 746. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey, *ibid.*, No. 13. Chabot conjectures תימשא for the name in line 3. On the contrary, the squeeze, which is perfectly distinct, makes the reading תימעא certain.

D. A New Copy of the "High-Place" Inscription in Petra.

Through the kindness of Professor Francis Brown, Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, I have received a copy and a squeeze of the Nabatean inscription which was discovered and copied by Mr. George Sverdrup in 1906, and published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal (1907), pp. 349-351. Professor Brown visited Petra in the spring of this year, 1908, remaining there several days. The squeeze was taken on May 8, and the copy was made three days later. Professor Brown's account of the inscription and its surroundings is as follows:

"We found it, after some search, by examining the rocks at the sides of the stairway (Hoskins' No. 1),² beginning at the top. Just west of the highest point of the hill a path runs down, northward, leading to the first distinguishable steps. There are, first, about 40 steps down toward the North; then a break; then about 36 steps down in the same direction; then a break; then 10 steps to the East, 7 to the North, 6 to the West. At the end of these last steps, on the left side, stands the rock wall which bears the inscription. The stairway then turns again to the North, with about 80 steps leading to an open rock platform. For one ascending from this platform, the

¹ A letter from Professor Porter, received since the above was printed, gives the desired information. He writes (June 20, 1908): "The final letter is clearly ך, as it has a dot above. The other character is doubtful, as the upper part is damaged. It may be a ך, though the downward stroke is straight and like that of a ך connected with the following character." The conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau is therefore correct.

² The reference is to the *Biblical World* for May, 1906, p. 385. See this Journal, Vol. xxviii, p. 351.

inscription is immediately in front. The face of the rock has been artificially smoothed. At the bottom the smoothed surface is about 5.42 m. long, and near the top about 4.88 m. The height I estimated at about 5 m. A stout cedar tree grows out of the corner at the right (as one faces the inscription), and this, added to the overshadowing rocks, makes photographing difficult. We were not able to get the proper light for this purpose; it might sometimes be possible, in the early afternoon."

"The inscription is about 1.76 m. long. There is no trace of writing before the first **N**, nor does the rock appear to be worn away. If anything, the surface is slightly higher just at the right of this letter.¹ At the right of the second line, the rock is slightly flaked off, and the flaking extends downward, but is not very marked. A few cracks and natural lines run through the inscription, but these are mostly unimportant. The letters vary a good deal in size, and the first line runs upward toward the left. Each letter is made by a succession of little hollows, which run together and sometimes form quite continuous lines. The bottom of the cut is rounded. A row of these little hollows, quite separate from one another, divides the first line from the second, and there are traces of such a row beneath the second line also. Indications of a third line of writing are too vague to be reproduced."

"A small niche is cut in the face of the rock, .395 m. from the beginning of the first line. It is about .57 m. high and .45 m. wide. Its depth varies from about .18 m. at the right lower corner to about .08 m. at the left upper corner. There is no trace of any relief or other cutting within it. To the right of it the smoothed rock wall runs on about 1.4 m. to the corner. The bottom of the niche is about 1.5 m. from the rock platform below."

"The stairway, both above and below the inscription, is a very fine one. It is four or five meters wide (at one point a step measured 3.98 m., at another point, 4.63 m., etc.). The steps are deep; we measured one, .43 m.; their height varies a good deal; just above the inscription we measured two, .18 m. and .22 m. Below the inscription, in the long straight flight

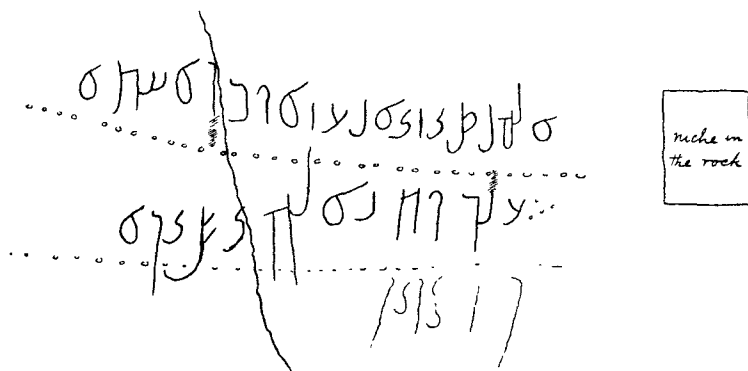
¹ Prof. Brown adds a note here: "There are *possibly* marks of a tool on the rock at this point, but it is very doubtful."

of about 88 steps, the average must be less, but these steps are badly weathered and many have disappeared."

"The gateway, of which Hoskins gives a photograph,¹ is a fine cutting, 3.80 m. wide. Immediately inside the entrance an oblong recess has been cut out on each side, apparently to receive the doors when opened. Each recess is 1.90 m. wide. The gateway, however, is far from the inscription."

"Dr. Hoskins exaggerates the difficulty of ascending by this stairway. Two of our party did it, and report only one difficult step in the whole ascent."

Thus far Professor Brown's description. His copy of the inscription gives the same letters as Mr. Sverdrup's, excepting that at the beginning of the second line he reads עבר (as I had conjectured) instead of ער. He has been at some pains to show the actual appearance of the whole inscription, with the letters in their relative positions, and with the chief irregularities of the rock's surface indicated. His copy is therefore most helpful, while at the same time it bears witness in general to Mr. Sverdrup's accuracy.



The squeeze taken by Professor Brown he calls a poor one; still, it appears to reproduce the surface of the rock very well for the most part. It is not easy to recognize the remaining traces of the characters in the middle of the inscription, where the rock is presumably more worn away. At the extremities of the lines, on the contrary, the letters are very distinct.

¹ See the note above.

I give here a facsimile of the letters and parts of letters which I can recognize on the sheets of the impression sent me by Professor Brown. Relative distinctness has been indicated to some extent, and I have included those doubtful furrowings or hollowings in the paper which *might* represent portions of letters. In a few cases I have supplied in outline the missing part of a character, as will appear.

First Line.—The third letter is not מ, as I previously thought it must of necessity be, but is plainly a final ה.

The fourth letter might be either ל or נ. On the basis of Sverdrup's copy, one would choose the former; I have now no doubt, however, after seeing the actual form of the character and its separateness from the following, that נ is correct.

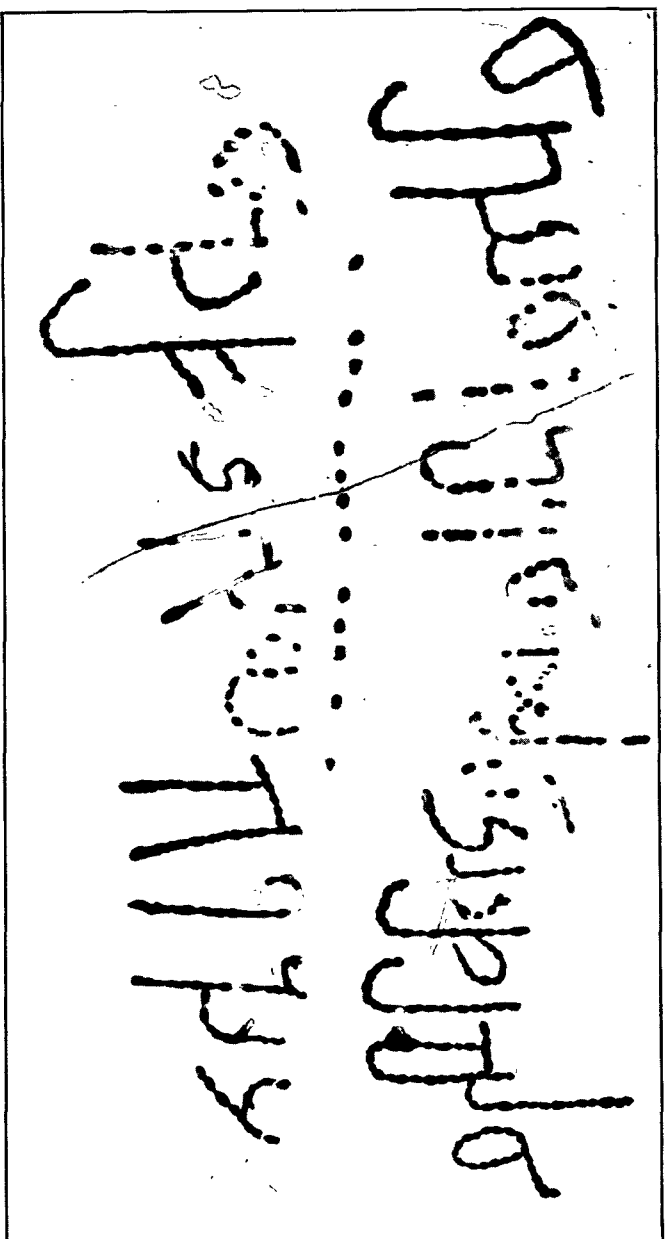
For the fifth letter, likewise ambiguous, ז now seems likely, rather than ק.

The traces of the letter just following this are indistinct. It is pretty certainly ' (see the copies of Sverdrup and Brown), though I can see no trace of the top stroke.

The seventh letter is not י, as both Sverdrup and Brown make it; nor ר, as I myself formerly conjectured; but נ, as the squeeze appears to me to show with certainty. Whether the line which appears to continue the vertical stroke downward is a ligature connecting it with the preceding ז, or the result of an accidental abrasion of the rock, I cannot determine. But the curved bottom of the נ is quite distinct.

I have not been able to make out with certainty any letter of the word אֶלְעֹזָא which both copies give here. The indentations of the paper are few and faint. The traces which do appear, however, are well suited to the reading proposed, and the concurrent testimony of those who have seen the inscription itself must therefore be accepted.

Of the four letters next following, the first is י. The second, as given in the two copies, looks like נ; the squeeze, however, seems to show a well-cut curved line continuing the bottom stroke upward, nearly coinciding with the crack in the rock, but plainly distinct from it. This would make the letter a מ. The character which follows looks like a final י, but as Brown's copy shows, the lower part of the long vertical stroke is probably not original. What was intended, then, was presumably either ר or ר. This is followed by א.



The remaining letters of the line look like **בבתא**, but in all probability the true reading is **ביתא** (see below).

Second Line.—It is possible, as Brown remarks (see above), that one or more letters may be missing at the beginning of this line. The squeeze shows a single vertical furrow in which I cannot see any sure trace of the characteristic borings by which the letters are made. Possibly the relative pronoun **די** stood here, but it is quite as likely that nothing is missing, and that the line originally began with **עבר**.

The five characters which follow **וה** are all more or less indistinct. Sverdrup and Brown both transcribe **באלהי**, and this reading is supported by the traces which are to be seen on the impression paper. The letter **ל** I should hardly have found at all if I had not had the two copies, and the seeming trace of its connection with the following **ה** is very doubtful. I have supplied in outline parts of both of these letters; the remaining traces of the **ה**, in particular, being quite certain, though far apart.

The third letter from the end of the line is given by the two copies as **י**, but the squeeze does not show the top stroke.

Third Line.—Professor Brown took no squeeze here, but saw faint traces of letters at the beginning, as well as a row of borings separating this line from the second. His copy suggests the **דכירין** which Sverdrup had surmised. Probably the line contained mention of others who were to be “remembered.”

I read, therefore:

**אלה נציבי אלעזא ומרא ביתא
עבר והבאלהי שירא**

These are the stelae of Al-‘Uzzā and Mārē Baitā, made by Wahbullāhī the caravan-master(?).

If this is the correct reading, the reference is probably to the stelae which stood in the sacred precinct at the top; for it is hardly likely that others were placed on the stairway, or on the platform just below this point, mentioned by Brown. We may suppose that there was no place for an inscription at the “high-place” itself, and that therefore the most convenient adjoining spot was chosen.

For the reading **מרא ב'תא**, which of course suggests itself as soon as the letter **מ** is recognized, see especially the article by Professor Savignac, of Jerusalem, printed in the *Revue Biblique* for July, 1908. He publishes there a Nabatean inscription (previously published, less accurately, in the *CIS.*, ii, 235) which contains this otherwise unknown divine title, and proposes also (p. 398) to read it in this Petra inscription, of which he had seen Brown's squeeze and copy. A letter from Professor Clermont-Ganneau, received by me in June, had already made the same suggestion. The only graphic difficulty is in the letter **'**, where the copies both read **ב**, and the squeeze gives exactly what I have reproduced, a character whose blurred upper part *might* be that of a **'**, as may be seen. What god this **מרא ב'תא** might be, has thus far remained an unanswered question. I believe the name to be an appellation of **דו'טרא**, Dhu's-Šarā, since this was the tutelary deity of the Nabatean kings generally (hence "Lord of the House"?), as well as the god most frequently named in the inscriptions of Petra. The conjunction of **דו'טרא** with **אלעזא**, the latter being named *first*, may well remind us of the oft-quoted passage in Epiphanius which says that the god Dusares of Petra was worshipped as the offspring of a virgin goddess (generally identified with Allāt or Al-ʿUzzā). See for example Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 218, 222; Dalman, *Petra*, pp. 49 ff.

As for the difficult word **ש'ירא**, I have nothing to add to what was said in my former article. On the squeeze, the second letter looks like **ב**, no sign of the top stroke of **'** being visible.

Two Unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions.—By HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., American School of Archæology, Jerusalem.

THE busts described are in the possession of a gentleman of Damascus, by whose kind permission I was enabled to make squeezes and photographs of the inscriptions.

I.

Two busts side by side, on the same background which is draped and rosetted. Men, bareheaded and bearded, the left figure laureated. The inscriptions are between the two heads, and run perpendicularly.

𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓
𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓

מקי בר זבירא
מקימו חבל

*Maqqai, son of Zebīda, [son of]
Meqīmu. Woe!*

𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓
𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓

ברעא בר זבירא
מקימו חבל

*Ber'a, son of Zebīda, [son of]
Meqīmu. Woe!*

II.

Young girl, standing, full length, wearing large earrings. In her left hand, pressed against her bosom, is a dove. The right hand is hanging by her side, holding a bunch of grapes. The figure is draped in a single clinging garment. Inscription over the left shoulder.

𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓
𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓
𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤓

חבל עגבא
ברת תימי
בר בני

*Woe! 'Agaba, daughter of
Taimī, son of Bani.*

The name עגבא seems to have been hitherto unknown.

An Aramaic Ostrakon from Nippur and the Greek Obolos.—
By JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, Professor in the P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia, Pa.

THROUGH the courtesy of Professor Hilprecht I am able to present an ostrakon found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. Its character I ascertained in examining the fragments of incantation bowls in the possession of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.¹ I know of only two other ostraka from Nippur, but these are apparently of a much later period, belonging probably to the age of the incantation bowls. The ostrakon in question is a potsherd of a bowl of large diameter, and forms a rough rectangle of about $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ cm; the photographic plate reproduces the size almost exactly. It contains on the convex surface an Aramaic inscription of nine lines. The characters are similar to those found in the Aramaic endorsements on contract tablets from Nippur, of the fifth century B. C., and the postulation of the same age for the ostrakon is corroborated by the character of the names appearing upon it.² The original ostrakon has remained complete. On the lower left hand the enamel had been rubbed off, and in this portion the writing upon the rough clay has become almost illegible.

The inscription is apparently a checklist of payments or liabilities to the debit or credit of the individuals named. We have countless parallels to this kind of document from Babylonia (cf. the temple-pay-rolls from Nippur), but only one Aramaic ostrakon that is exactly similar, which will be cited below. At the beginning of each line, except the fifth which is a continuation of the fourth line, occurs a personal name, in all cases of Babylonian formation. It is interesting to observe

¹ The Museum number of the ostrakon is 2927.

² See Clay, *Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons*, in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, vol. i, p. 285.

FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL.

אנושת בלסאקב זון ||
 אנושתלי מובלן ||
 לבש בר בלטי מובל |
 אב- נרנאנושת זון ||
 מובלן ||
 אנושתוצר מובל |
 אללאנתן בר יואדו מובל ||
 בלשמרן זון |
 אנושתבנ _____ מובל ||

TRANSLITERATION.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| | אנושת בלסאקב זון | 1 |
| | אנושתלי מובלן | 2 |
| | לבש בר בלטי מובל | 3 |
| | אב- נרנאנושת זון | 4 |
| | מובלן | 5 |
| | אנושתוצר מובל | 6 |
| | אללאנתן בר יואדו מובל | 7 |
| | בלשמרן זון | 8 |
| | אנושתבנ _____ מובל | 9 |

that five of the ten names contain the divine element **אנושת**, Enwaštu (?), which, as Professor Clay has shown, is the Aramaic transliteration of the Babylonian cryptogram which had hitherto been pronounced Ninib.¹ The present names corroborate Dr. Clay's reading of the Aramaic consonants, over which there has been much dispute. A cursory glance at the name lists in the three volumes of the University of Pennsylvania Babylonian Expedition Series, in which Dr. Clay has published documents

¹ Clay, *The Origin and Real Name of NIN-IB*, in JAOS. xxviii, p. 135. However, Dr. Radau in vol. xvii, part 1, in the Babylonian Expedition Series proposes another interpretation (p. 9).

of the Persian period, shows that NIN-IB predominates over the other gods, at least as the first element of names ; and he, with Ellil, NIN-LIL and Nusku, was one of the deities in whose names oaths were sworn.¹

The names are as follows :

Line 1 : *Enwaštu-balassu-iqbi*, cf. Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 329, Bel-b.-i.

Line 2 : *Enwaštu-ili* ; similar names with other divine elements, *ib.* 270.

Line 3 : *Lābāši bar Balāti*. *Lābāši bar Balātu* occurs frequently as the name of a scribe in the Murašû documents ; see the Series cited, vol. ix, p. 73, and vol. x, p. 67. Dr. Clay, to whose kind assistance I am in general greatly indebted, would read the final obscure character as ' , and calls my attention to the irregularities which exist in the matter of final vowels between the Aramaic endorsements and the Babylonian spelling ; see No. 5 in his *Aramaic Indorsements*. This does not account for the second stroke, which might stand for 𐤀, in which case we should read *Balātiāh*. Such a name has been suggested in vol. ix, p. 51.

Line 4 : 'B- *Nādin-Enwaštu*. The first two letters of the first word are 𐤁𐤍, the third is 𐤀, 𐤁, or 𐤀. The word can hardly be a component of the name, and Dr. Clay suggests that we have here a title, one of a large class which he has listed in vol. xv, p. 5f. Cf. the names in Tallquist, *op. cit.* 324.

Line 6 : *Enwaštu-ušur*. For names of like formation see Tallquist, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

Line 7 : *Ellil-ittannu*. The same name is given in vol. ix, p. 54. For Ellil, see Clay, JSL. xxiii, p. 269.

Šur-iddina ; i. e., by the well-known softening of the Babylonian *m*, *Šum-iddina*. The same name appears spelt as here in *Aramaic Indorsements*, No. 46.

Line 8 : *Bēl-šum-iddina*. This spelling throws doubt upon the interpretation of the preceding name. Would a scribe have spelt differently in two adjacent lines ? Did the two persons in question spell or pronounce their names differ-

¹ See Series A. vol. viii, part i, p. 21.

ently, and is the scribe noting the distinction? It is to be observed that the **𐤁** and the **𐤂** are of more archaic character than elsewhere in the ostrakon, the word *zûz* also being written more coarsely than elsewhere. May it not be a case of autograph of the person charged? We recall the autograph signatures in the Assouan papyri.

Line 9 : *Enwaštu-BN*?. The second element is obscure; the spacing leads us to expect a word like *Enwaštu-bâni-aḥu*; see vol. viii, part i, p. 59.

Each name is followed by the account which is expressed in one or both of two terms, each being followed by a numeral, the noun being in the singular or plural according as the numeral is one or more. One of the terms is **זז**, with the plural **זזז**, i. e. *zûz*, *zûzîn*. This is the coin or money-value well-known from the Talmud, where it represents the denarius, and so the drachme; the plural has been found on a Palmyrene inscription,¹ and the word has recently been discovered in an Egyptian Aramaic papyrus of the Greek period.² Our ostrakon would then give us the earliest instance of the use of the word.

The second word is doubtless to be transliterated **מובל** with the plural **מובלן**. The word is not known in this technical sense; it is evidently a coin of lesser denomination than the *zûz*. An exact analogy to our ostrakon is found in the large Egyptian Aramaic ostrakon published by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris*, ii, p. 243. There likewise we have lines of individual accounts, beginning with the name of the person charged, which is followed by the terms of the account, expressed (1) in shekels (abbreviated **ש**), (2) in a value represented by the abbreviation **מ**, and (3) in "farthings" (**רבען**). Lidzbarski presents a very satisfactory argument for understanding the **מ** to represent the Talmudic **מעה**, *ma'a*. But it is now in order to offer the word under discussion, **מובל**, as the explanation of that abbreviation. It may be observed that Lidzbarski is inclined to equate the shekel of his ostrakon with the drachme, in which case the *zûz* may have represented the shekel (in one

¹ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, inscr. 17, l. 5.

² Sayce and Cowley, *An Aramaic Papyrus of the Ptolemaic Age from Egypt*, PSBA. 1907. p. 260 ff. : see papyrus b, l. 9, etc.

of its different values), perhaps as the name of the coin.¹ Whether or not the two ostraka correspond in the equation of the zûz with the shekel and of the abbreviation מ with מובל, we have here a new word for a money-value. Its root is יבל, the same from which is derived the Babylonian *biltu*, talent, the highest money denomination.² In any case, having in mind the fresh discoveries of Aramaic words for coins or money-values, in the Assouan papyri, etc. (e. g. חלר, כבש, רבע) we need not be surprised at the novel word presented in this ostrakon.

I venture now a suggestion upon the history of this word, *mābal*, *mōbal*?, which, if approved, will throw additional light upon the interesting problem of the relations between Greece and the Orient. I would suggest that the word is the origin of the Greek ὀβολός, the small Attic coin, in value one-sixth of the drachme. In consideration of the digamma-like pronunciation of the Babylonian *m*, this etymology is perfectly natural, cf. Σαως for Šamaš in Hesychius, and Δαυκη for Damkina in Damascius. As to a native origin of the word, various etymologies were offered by the Greeks themselves, while modern philologists appear to be very undecided in the matter; says Hultsch: "Die Etymologien der neueren schwanken auffällig."³ I cannot trace the word ὀβολός further back than the fifth century,⁴

¹ For the meaning of the word in Babylonian, see Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary*, i, p. 276. For the equivalence of the Phoenician shekel with the drachme, see Hultsch, *Griechische u. römische Metrologie*², p. 423.

² In the Talmud occurs מובל, מובל, a load.

³ For references and proposed etymologies, see L. Meyer, *Handbuch d. griechischen Etymologie*, i, p. 518; K. Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergleichenden Grammatik d. indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, p. 318; and especially Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Müller's *Handbuch*, i, p. 847 ff.; Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. For many of my references I am indebted to the kindness of Professor McDaniel of the Greek Department, University of Pennsylvania. For the sake of history, I may recall the Babylonian etymology suggested for *obolos* by Oppert, in *Journal asiatique*, 1874, vol. ii, p. 480: "Il paraît que toute la série des termes stathmétiques, en grec, est d'origine babylonienne. Le mot *obole* lui-même provient de *aplûs*, poids." He contributes a statement to the like effect in Mommsen-de Blacas, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, Paris, 1865, p. 410.

⁴ Aristophanes, see Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v.; and Attic inscriptions, cited by Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 207, n. 4.

although Müller's *Handbuch* (l. c.) says that the coin goes back to the Solonic reform. The word therefore may have been of comparatively late introduction into Greece.¹

In the metrological field I refer again to Lidzbarski's discussion of the abbreviation **𐤊** and its relation to the shekel, on his ostrakon. He argues that the **𐤊** is possibly one-sixth of the shekel. If the shekel equal the drachme (which is true of the Phoenician shekel), and **𐤊** be the abbreviation for our **מובל**, then the latter would bear the same relation to the shekel as the *ὀβολός* to the drachme, and the two would equal each other.

Both etymological and metrological arguments then lend support to the argument advanced. Numismatic terms have always had a romantic history and defied national bounds; compare the history of the "dollar,"—a German word which through Spanish intermediaries has become the name of the American standard coin, and is as well known in China. The word *ὀβολός* may have been introduced into Greece from the Assyrian empire by way of Lydia, or at a later date from Babylonia through the Persians.

I conclude with my translation, as follows :

1. Enwaštu-balassu-iqbi, 2 zûz.
2. Enwaštu-ili, 2 M. (móbal ?).
3. Labâši bar Balâti, 1 M.
4. 'B-Nâdin-Enwaštu 2 zûz.
5. 2 M.
6. Enwaštu-ušur, 1 M.
7. Ellil-ittannu bar Šum-iddina, 2 M.
8. Bêl-šum-iddina, 1 zûz.
9. Enwaštu-bâni (?)—, 2 M.

¹ The only etymological objection that may be offered is the fact that a Doric form of the word appears as *ὀέεζός*

On the Babylonian Origin of Plato's Nuptial Number.—By
GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

THE attention of scholars was recalled to this subject by the publication in January, 1907 of Hilprecht's *Mathematical, Metrological, and Chronological Tablets*, which form vol. xx, Series A, of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Hilprecht's reviewers gave him high praise for discovering the Babylonian origin of Plato's nuptial number. These reviewers included such scholars as Zimmern, Ungnad, Hommel, Kittel, Zehnpfund, Sayce, Pinches, Johns, Teloni, Fossey, Ward, and Rogers. Among these the present writer was also found.¹ In all these reviews, however, the fact was overlooked² that in claiming the Babylonian origin of this Platonic number, Hilprecht had been twice anticipated, once by A. Aurès in 1893, and once by James Adam in 1902. Hilprecht used Adam's book without mentioning this fact!

As this subject is one which lies upon the borderland between Greek, Assyriology, philosophy and mathematics, it is not strange that Hilprecht's reviewers were not familiar with the history of the subject. No one unless he had made a special study of this borderland would be likely to know its history. Hilprecht's contribution to the subject was not a discovery of the Babylonian relationship, but he supplied some fresh Babylonian material, which confirmed the theory of Adam. The present paper is a sin-offering (אֲשָׁם) by one of the reviewers for his sin of inadvertence (שְׁגוּה).

The passage in which Plato introduces this mystic number is said to be the most difficult passage in his writings. As it has suffered many interpretations at the hands of classical scholars, it may not be out of place to examine the passage and some of

¹ See Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of February 18, 1907.

² Professor Johns, I am informed, discovered that Aurès had anticipated Hilprecht, but the editor of the *Classical Review* cut the reference to it out of his notice of the book.

these interpretations, in order to be able to estimate more justly the value of the arguments for Babylonian influence.

The passage occurs in Book VIII of the *Republic*, p. 546 C D, and is as follows:—

ἔστι δὲ θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδος. ἣν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει τέλειος· ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πρώτῃ αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβούσαι ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἀπέφηναν· ὧν ἐπίτροπος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγεῖς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται, τρεῖς αὐξηθεῖς, τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκεις, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκεις, τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δὲ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δονεῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος. ξύμπαρ δὲ οὗτος, ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικός, τοιούτου κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσεων, ἃς ὅταν ἀγνοήσαντες ὑμῖν οἱ φύλακες συνοικίζωσιν νύμφας νυμφίοις παρὰ καιρόν, οὐκ εὐφυνεῖς οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς παῖδες ἔσονται.¹

Recent interpreters of Plato seem to agree that *θείῳ γεννητῷ* refers to the world, the formation of which is controlled by a large number, and that Plato claims that human births are controlled by a smaller number which bears a certain relation to this larger number. Dupuis understands that the “perfect number” is 6,—a “perfect number” being, according to Euclid and the Greek mathematicians, a number which is equal to the

¹ This passage is translated by Jowett (*Dialogues of Plato*, III, 250 ff.) as follows (Jowett's mathematical parentheses and notes are omitted from this translation but will be given below):—“Now that which is of divine birth has a period which is contained in a perfect number, but the period of human birth is comprehended in a number in which increments by involution and evolution [or squared and cubed] obtaining three intervals and four terms of like and unlike, waxing and waning numbers, make all the terms commensurable and agreeing with one another. The base of these, with a third added, when combined with five and raised to the third power furnishes two harmonies, the first a square which is a hundred times as great, and the third a figure having one side equal to the former, but oblong, consisting of a hundred numbers squared upon rational diameters of a square [i. e. omitting fractions] the side of which is five, each of them being less by one than, or less than two perfect squares of irrational diameters; and a hundred cubes of three. Now this number represents a geometrical figure which has control over good and evil births. For when your guardians are ignorant of the law of births, and unite bride and bridegroom out of season, the children will not be goodly or fortunate.”

sum of all its divisors. Thus $6=1+2+3$. Apparently, however, the meaning here is, not that six is the actual number, but that it lies at the basis of that number. Adam, therefore, understands this to be a reference to the number which expresses the gestation of the universe, and which Plato in this phrase leaves shrouded in silence and obscurity, but explains more fully in the last part of the passage.

There seems also to be general agreement that the number which controls human births, which is obtained by "squaring and cubing," by which "three intervals and four terms are produced," is 216 ($=6^3=3^3+4^3+5^3$). This is the view of Dupuis¹ (1881), Hultsch² (1882), Jowett³ (1891), Campbell⁴ (1894) and Adam⁵ (1902). Some scholars have reached this conclusion by cubing 6, and some (as Adam) by adding the cubes of 3, 4 and 5.

With reference to Plato's meaning in the latter part of the passage quoted there is less agreement, though real progress seems to have been made in recent years in the elucidation of his meaning.

It was understood long ago (cf. Schleiermacher, *Platons Werke*, 1828, III, i, 590 ff.), that *πυθμὴν* meant in Greek mathematical terminology the lowest number (or in the plural the lowest numbers) which express a given ratio. Thus in the ratios $\frac{3}{4}:\frac{1}{4}$, $3:4$, $6:8$, $9:12$, the *πυθμένες* are 3 and 4. *ὧν ἐπίτροπος πυθμὴν* designates, it is agreed, the numbers 3 and 4 which formed two sides of the Pythagorean triangle, but interpreters differ as to whether Plato intended to designate the numbers themselves, or a series of ratios of which they are the lowest terms. But what does *πεμπαδι συζυγείς* mean? Dupuis apparently (his work is inaccessible to me) took this in connection with the preceding expression *ὧν ἐπίτροπος πυθμὴν* to be another way of referring to the number 216, and, understanding the following expression, *ἐκατὸν τριακτάκις*, to mean that this was to be multiplied by 100, obtained 21,600 for the mystic

¹ *Le Nombre géométrique de Platon*, 1881.

² *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, vol. xxviii, Heft. 2, p. 41 ff.

³ *The Dialogues of Plato*, III, 250.

⁴ *The Republic of Plato*, III, 371 ff.

⁵ *The Republic of Plato*, II, 206 ff, and Excursus at the end of the work.

number. Hultsch, on the other hand, takes *συνγείς* to mean "add," and so to 3+4 adds 5, obtaining 12. Understanding *τὴν αὐξηθείς* to mean simply "multiply by three," he so multiplies, and obtains 36. He then understands the words *ἐκατὸν τοσαντάκις, τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ*, to mean that the number in Plato's mind was $(36 \times 100)^2 = 3600^2 = 12,960,000$, though he admits that it is "Ein dunkler und mehrdeutiger Ausdruck." Hultsch claims that Plato thought of an ecliptical year, and notes that while modern astronomy shows that year to be 25,800 years, there is evidence in Tacitus (*Dial. de Oratore*, 16) that the ancients thought it to be 12,754 and 12,854, and Cicero (*Fragments of Hortensius*) that they thought it to be 12,954 years. Hultsch, therefore, supposes Plato thought it to consist of 12,960 years.

Jowett, Monroe,¹ and Campbell, following a suggestion of Otto Weber, interpret differently. Weber² understood *πυθμήν* to suggest a series of ratios, and anticipated Hultsch in interpreting *συνγείς* to mean "add". He thought that on the whole the last part of Plato's description of the number was best satisfied by the proportion 6400:4800::3600:2700. Adding 6400 and 3600 he obtained 10,000, which he thought represented Plato's square, being the square of 100 (i. e., was 100 times as large as 100). Adding 4800 and 2700 he obtains for the oblong 7,500 (i. e., 100 \times by 75). The sum of these two is 17,500, which Weber thought to represent the number. Jowett, while adopting Weber's suggestion as a possible explanation, presents an alternative explanation, based on the last part of Plato's words (*ἐκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος*, etc.). He takes this language, in the manner explained below, to denote 4900 and 2700 respectively. These he adds, together with 400 which he had obtained from an interpretation of *ἐκατὸν τοσαντάκις*, making the whole number 8000.³

Adam interprets differently, and with much greater philological and mathematical accuracy. His first attempt, *The Nuptial Number of Plato*, Cambridge, 1891, was severely criticised by Monroe (*Classical Review*, vol. vi, 152 ff.), and Gow. (*Jour.*

¹ *Journal of Philology*, viii, 276 ff.

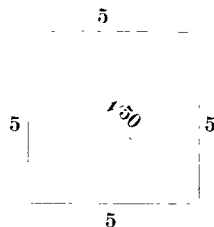
² *De Numero Platonis*, Cassel, 1862.

³ *Dialogues of Plato*, III, p. cxxx ff.

of *Phil.*, xii, 91 ff.). The weaknesses of his first interpretation have been corrected in his edition of *Plato's Republic*, 1902. He notes that *συνεγγείς*, in the language of the Pythagoreans, meant "marry," and that, as applied to numbers, it meant "multiply". He accordingly interprets *ὧν ἐπίτροπος πυνθμὴν πεμπάδι συνεγγείς* to mean $3 \times 4 \times 5 = 60$. He then shows that in Greek mathematical language *τρίς αἰξήθεις* can only mean "multiplied by itself three times," i. e., "raised to the fourth power;" that to make it mean anything else reduces some mathematical passages in Greek writers to an absurdity. This gives him the number 12,960,000. He has reached the same goal as Hultsch, but by a more defensible path.

This result is confirmed by what Hultsch and Adam understand Plato's following words to mean. Plato says that this number produces "two harmonies, the first a square which is a hundred times as great" (*τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκεις, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκεις*); i. e., 12,960,000 represents the square of 3600. 3600 consists of two factors, 100 and 36, i. e., 3600—the root of the whole number—Plato says is 100 times as great as 36. This number 36 would also produce two harmonies,¹ 6×6 and 4×9 . In like manner this larger number, when resolved into its factors, produces "two harmonies," one of which, 3600, is a square and is 100 times as great as 36. The other harmony consists of an oblong figure one side of which is obtained by squaring 5, taking its rational diameter (i. e., disregarding the fraction), squaring it, multiplying by 100, and subtracting 100 from the result, or says Plato, if the diameter is irrational (i. e., the fraction is not disregarded) 200 are to be subtracted. Hultsch, Jowett, Campbell and Adam agree that this is Plato's meaning, and represent it in diagram as follows:—

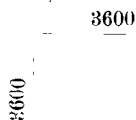
$$\begin{aligned} 7^2 \times 100 &= 4900 - 100 = 4800, \\ \text{or } 50 \times 100 &= 5000 - 200 = 4800. \end{aligned}$$



The second factor Plato says is the cube of three multiplied by 100, i. e., 2700.

¹ So Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Jowett and Campbell would add these two numbers together, but Hultsch and Adam are, I believe, right in claiming that they are to be multiplied. Adam has treated the matter most exhaustively from every point of view, and, until some new material is discovered, seems to me to have said the most convincing, if not the final word on it. He has made out clearly, then, that Plato meant to say that this large number represented two geometrical figures, one a square of 3600, thus:



the other an oblong, thus:



Adam holds that the number 12,960,000 represented to Plato a world year 36,000 years long, expressed in days, 360 days being counted to the year.

Dr. Georg Albert of Vienna, however, who in 1896 had advocated the view that the number represents the precession of the equinoxes, while he admits¹ that a comparison of the Babylonian material gives to the number 12,960,000 advocated by Hultsch and Adam an added argument, still believes that Plato had in mind a number of which 2592 was one factor and 3600 the other, and that 2592 represented to his mind the precession of the equinoxes.

He reaches this result for the factor 2592 by adhering to the idea that *πυθμήν* suggests a ratio, with which 3 and 4 have something to do. He gives a long list of these ratios, and then selects 81:36::72:32 as the ratio contemplated by Plato, apparently because the product of the extremes and means of this proportion is in each case 2592, the ecliptical number without its ciphers—a method which is extremely arbitrary. There is much justice in the remark of Adam (*Republic*, II, p. 275 n.),

¹ *Die Platonische Zahl als Präzessionszahl*, Leipzig und Wien, 1907.

"Nothing can be done with them [ratios] without having recourse to arbitrary calculations for which there is no warrant in Plato's language." The reasoning of Albert gives one the feeling that he reached his result and then made his argument afterwards. In comparison with Adam's logical method it does not commend itself.

My own view is that if we approach the matter without pre-suppositions in favor of any theory and interpret the passage from the point of view of Greek alone, we must be convinced of the soundness of Adam's interpretation, and hold the number to be 12,960,000.

If now we turn to the Babylonian side, the general course of discovery in this direction has been as follows:

Rawlinson,¹ and Oppert,² in the early days of Assyrian decipherment, discovered the sexagesimal system and the notation of the *saros*. Rawlinson, in 1855, suggested that this was carried beyond the *saros* to 216,000. As early as 1866 Brandis had in his *Münz-, Mass- und Gerichtswesen in Vorderasien*, p. 7, inferred that the Babylonians carried the sexagesimal progression on to 12,960,000.

In 1875 the mathematical tablet, brought from Senkereh by Loftus in 1850, was published in IV R. In the same year Oppert presented a translation of it in his *L'Étalon des mesures Assyriennes, fixé par les textes cunéiformes*, pp. 24-27. Here the matter lay until 1893, when the subject was taken up by Aurès. Dupuis had twelve years before published his interpretation of the Platonic number, and had made the number 21,600. The highest number given in the tablet of Senkereh was 21,600. It does not appear that Aurès was aware of the paper of Hultsch, referred to above, although that had been called out by the work of Dupuis. Had he known it, however, probably two reasons would have induced him to follow the work of Dupuis, patriotism (Aurès and Dupuis both being French), and the fact that the tablet of Senkereh seemed to confirm Dupuis' calculation. Aurès believed that the fact that the circle was divided into 360°, and each degree into 60 minutes, making 21,600 minutes in a circle, was proof that this number had

¹ JRAS. xv. 218, 219.

² *Éléments de la grammaire assyrienne*. 2d ed., p. 41.

played an important part in ancient thought. Aurès, so far as I know, deserves, however, the credit of having first suggested the Babylonian origin of this mystic number of Plato.

Again in 1902 Adam, who knew nothing apparently of the work of Aurès, pointed out in his edition of the *Republic*¹ that the number 12,960,000 seemed to be connected with the Babylonian sexagesimal system. He did this on the basis of the work of Brandis referred to above, apparently knowing nothing of the intervening progress of Assyriology.

Before Hilprecht published his work referred to above, then, the Babylonian origin of the Platonic number had been twice suggested, once by Aurès and once by Adam, each working independently of the other.

We are now in a position to estimate justly the value of Hilprecht's contribution to the subject. That the mathematical tablets published by him have been in general correctly interpreted may be readily conceded. That these practice tablets contain fractions and factors of 12,960,000 in such a way as to show that that number played an important rôle in Babylonian thought, he has also clearly made out. In his table on p. 21 there are, however, two errors. Opposite 25 we should have 518,400 instead of 518,000; and opposite 50 we should have 259,200 instead of 259,000. These corrected numbers are called for by the series and are actually present in the text.² The mistakes may be mere typographical errors. The material presented here by Hilprecht tends greatly to strengthen the view that the mystic number of Plato is of Babylonian origin. It strengthens it, because it gives for the first time actual evidence from the Babylonian side that the number 12,960,000 really played an important part in Babylonian thought. It makes it more probable that Pythagoras, whom Plato followed, as Adam and others have so clearly shown, was profoundly influenced by Babylonia. This added material is most welcome.

It must be confessed, however, that Hilprecht's work in this respect deserves far less credit than has been accorded it. Perhaps like his reviewers he was ignorant of the work of Aurès. He did, however, know the work of Adam, and still gave him

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 302, 303.

² See Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, No. 20, col. I, 16, 25; and col. IV, 16 and 24.

no credit for having suggested the Babylonian origin of the number.

Albert, at the end of his last discussion of the Platonic number (1907), holds that there are three possibilities as to its origin:

1. Plato had borrowed the magnitude and the idea of his number, probably also its construction, from the Babylonians. This hypothesis, adds Albert, appears to me sufficiently improbable.

2. Plato had learned the fact of the procession of the equinoxes, the determination of their size, and the hypothesis of their period of revolution, from the star-gazers of Attica and explained them in a philosophical manner.

3. Plato had received from the astronomers the idea that 72 years marked a definite step of the advance of the equinoxes, and independently built up from it the full period and made this of service to his ethical-biological reflections. This last idea may have been suggested through primeval oriental myths.

These conclusions of Albert seem to me inadequate and improbable. Here is a number, 12,960,000, which independent investigations in Greek and in Babylonian civilization have, as I think, demonstrated to have played an important part in the thought of these nations respectively. Is it probable that this complicated number was arrived at independently by the two peoples? The traditions of the oriental travels of Pythagoras, even if we discount them considerably as Zeller¹ does, may contain an element of truth. But supposing that he never went to the East himself, Cyrus had conquered Sardis and attached the kingdom of Croesus to the Persian empire in the year 546, and had overthrown Babylon in 538. If Pythagoras lived in Samos in the last half of the sixth century, the channels through which Babylonian thought might filter through to him were all open. Moreover Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 562) seems to contain a reference to a sexagesimal system of numbers. Herodotus (2¹⁰⁹) says definitely that the division of the day into twelve parts was derived by the Greeks from the Babylonians. In how many ways the sexagesimal system entered into the Babylonian conception of the world, Winckler has shown in his *Himmels-*

¹ *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, i, 334.

und Weltenbild der Babylonier, Leipzig, 1901, p. 15 ff. If the Greeks borrowed a part of the Babylonian sexagesimal system, it seems fair to infer that, when other parts of it appear in Greek life, they were also borrowed. We learn, too, from Berossos that the Babylonians had the notion of a 36,000 year period. In spite of Albert's argument, therefore, it seems to me that the Babylonian origin of Plato's mystic number is raised to a high degree of probability, if not to practical certainty. This may be said, too, without thereby endorsing the extravagances of the German pan-Babylonians.

On an Old Babylonian Letter addressed "to Lushtamar."—

By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

IN the JDP collection of the University of Pennsylvania there is an Old Babylonian letter addressed "to Lushtamar," which has in recent years attained an unpleasant notoriety. In the official history of the expedition written by Hilprecht (*Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series D, Vol. I, p. 532), he says: "Concerning the character of the business and administrative department of the 'library,' where contracts were executed, orders given out, income and expense lists kept, etc., I have to add little to what has been previously stated (p. 524). A number of letters were found intact. The envelopes sealed and addressed more than four thousand years ago, immediately before the city was conquered and looted, were still unbroken. While writing these lines one of those ancient epistles of the time of Amraphel (Gen. 14) lies unopened before me. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. One and the same seal cylinder has been rolled eleven times over the six sides of the clay envelope before it was baked with the document within. It bears the simple address 'To Lushtamar.' Though sometimes curious to know the contents of the letter, I do not care to break the fine envelope and to intrude upon Mr. Lushtamar's personal affairs and secrets, as long as thousands of mutilated literary tablets from the library require all my attention."

Here, if language means anything, Hilprecht says that this tablet was "found" by the expedition of 1900 in "the library."¹

¹ See also *Transactions of the Department of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 114; also Hilprecht's *Die Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania am Bel-Tempel zu Nippur*. Leipzig, 1903, p. 61 ff.: and *Recent Research in Bible Lands*, p. 532. For the implications of these statements and the shifting and contradictory statements which Hilprecht has made as one after another of his assertions about the tablet have been proved untenable, see *The So-called*

Dr. Peters called attention of this Society three years ago to the fact that the tablet was not excavated at Nippur, but was purchased at Bagdad (see JAOS. xxvi, 158), and it is the purpose of the present article to call attention to evidence which, the writer believes, clearly proves that the tablet was not written at Nippur and was never sent to Nippur. The evidence is as follows:

In the German lecture of Hilprecht already quoted (*Die Ausgrabungen*, etc.) a half-tone reproduction of the face of this tablet is given, on p. 62, and also in the *Transactions*, p. 156. The characters on the seal are not very clear in either reproduction, but a part of the seal can, though with difficulty, be read. I have examined these pictures repeatedly in different lights and with a glass, and make out the name of the sender to be *Ilushubani apil Ibi-^{im} NIN-ŠAH*, i. e., Ilushubani son of Ibininshakh.¹ Now the sender of this letter, Ilushubani, son of Ibininshakh, was a resident of Sippar and not of Nippur. In a tablet of the Kh² collection published by Ranke (BE. vi, No. 50, l. 19) Ilushubani son of Ibininshakh appears as a witness. It can be shown that this tablet was written in Sippar. The reasons are: 1. That in the oath-formula the contracting parties mentioned the god Shamash before the god Marduk. This creates a probability that the residence of the parties was Sip-

Peters-Hilprecht Controversy, pp. 37 ff., 55, 186-190, 235, and 310-314. In examining the references in this last work, it should be noted that none of the material contained in brackets was part of the original statements.

¹ I have not been able to obtain access to the tablet itself, but this reading has been confirmed since my paper was presented at the meeting in Cambridge, by Dr. Hugo Radau, who now has the tablet in his possession. In a pamphlet privately printed in Philadelphia, May, 1908, in which Dr. McClellan, a professor of medicine, gives a "Non-Partisan View of Professor Hilprecht's Work," and Dr. Radau treats of "Hilprecht's View Regarding Nippur Tablets," Radau endeavors to forestall the effect upon Hilprecht of the publication of my present article, and in doing so confirms the correctness of my reading, also supplying from the tablet the occupation of the sender and an additional phrase which were so blurred in the photographs that I could not make them out. According to him the seal reads: "Ilushubani, the merchant, son of Ibininshakh, the servant of Ninshah." *Dam-gar* "merchant," and *nitakh* "NIN-SAH," "servant of Ninshakh," are the words which the photographs did not reveal.

par, the city of Shamash. 2. This probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that the names of two other witnesses to this contract (BE. vi, 50), viz: Rish-shamash, son of Imgur-ukhki, and Abumwaqar, son of Shamashnurnatim (ll. 21, 22), occur as witnesses also on another tablet published by Ranke (BE. vi, 57, ll. 20 and 22)—a tablet which was written in Sippar. This is shown by the fact that in the oath which confirms the contract they swore not only by the gods Shamash and Marduk, but by the city Sippar. Ilushubani was certainly, therefore, a resident of Sippar. Both these contracts were dated in the reign of Shamsuiluna, the son and successor of Hammurabi, the dynasty to which Hilprecht refers this letter, and I may add that he is the only Ilushubani son of Ibi-Ninshakh whose name is known to us. It is clear, therefore, that the letter was written at Sippar and not at Nippur. A catastrophe at Nippur could accordingly not have prevented the despatch of the letter, and so account for the presence of the letter in its envelope.

Why, then, was this letter never opened in ancient times? The answer seems to me very clear. It is well known that all important documents were written in duplicate. Two copies of this letter were undoubtedly made. One was sent to Lush-tamar, the other retained by the writer Ilushubani. When Lush-tamar received his copy, he broke the clay envelope and read the letter. The envelope of this one has, we are told, never been broken. This is accordingly Ilushubani's duplicate copy which he retained for his letter file. If he lived at Sippar, this was never sent from Sippar, so that it could not be claimed that this particular tablet was sent from Sippar to Nippur. It is quite impossible to claim, therefore, with any basis of reason that this tablet has ever been at Nippur.¹

¹ Radau, who in these matters always reflects Hilprecht, now admits (pamphlet cited above, p. 29 ff.) that this tablet was written at Sippar, but claims that one must prove that Lush-tamar lived at Sippar before my conclusion is established. He did not, however, tell the audience of non-Assyriologists, to whom his paper was read, that this letter had never been opened. I submit that it is far more probable that this is the copy made for Ilushubani's letter file in Sippar, than that it was sent to a Lush-tamar at Nippur, that the latter city was destroyed before Lush-tamar could open it, that an Assyriologist bought it of an

Arab thief, gave it to that thief for safe keeping until he (the thief) could deliver it in a distant city, that the Assyriologist bought the same tablet again of a Baghdad dealer without knowing it, labeled it in a museum as from the latter purchase, and then in the end knew that it was the same tablet which many years before he had bought of the thief. The series of improbabilities ancient and modern are too great a strain on one's credulity, especially as the statements of the Assyriologist as originally made are now admitted by him to have been wrong in practically all their detail, and as the only other tablet, purchased at the same time as the Lushtamar tablet, which has so far been published, is a contract written at Sippar. (Cf. Ranke, BE. vi. No. 17, and the *So-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy*, p. 31.)

Assyrian *qanānu* 'to coil'; and *xarāpu* 'to abound'.—

By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

a) *qanānu*.

This verb is usually explained as a denominative from *qinnu* 'nest,' but while this may perhaps be true as regards Hebrew and Syriac, it certainly does not hold good for Assyrian—*qanānu* means properly 'to coil, wind, wrap.' Thus *qanānu ša ġiri* (Del. H.W., 588) means 'to coil (said) of a serpent'; and in the Nimrod Epic (XI, 16) the gods in their fear *kima kalbi qannunū* 'cower (literally 'curl up') like a dog.' The phrase *kanānu* (i. e. *qanānu*) *ša kalbī* 'to curl up (said) of a dog, though placed in Del. H.W. (p. 339) under the stem 𐎲𐎶, evidently belongs here, and its precise force will be readily understood by any one who has seen a dog in the act of lying down. *qanānu ša amēli* (Del. H.W. 339) 'to crouch (said) of a man,' is to be explained in the same way. IV R. 6, 13–14, it is the malevolent enchanter who *ina šasur nāši ġira uqanninu* 'coils a snake in a human womb.' In other cases cited in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* and in Meissner's *Supplement* the context is mutilated or obscure. For the etymology we may compare Arabic *qanna* 'to observe, scrutinize closely,' properly 'to encompass,' and *qinneḥ* 'strand of rope,' i. e. something wound or twisted.

qinnu 'nest' means properly 'a coil' (of grass, leaves, etc.), and in the phrase *qinna qanānu* 'to build a nest,' the noun is the so-called inner object of the verb. It would seem, therefore, that even in Hebrew and Syriac the use of the verb as a denominative may be not original but secondary. *qinnu* is fully treated in Del. H.W. (588) and needs no further remark here. Another derivative, *qannu*, is particularly interesting. In a number of cases *qannu* occurs in the meaning "border," properly 'circumference.' For example, in Amarna (KBv) No. 7, 20; No. 21, rev. 84: *qanni māti* evidently means 'frontier' and is so translated by Winckler; and in Harper's *Letters*, No.

252, l. 8, we have *ša qanni¹ taxūmi* 'along the frontier.' From 'frontier' to 'district' is an easy step, and in the latter sense *qannu* occurs quite frequently. Thus, H. 409, 10: *am pīxātu ša qanni mā^t Ukā* 'the prefect of the district of U.'; H. 408, rev. 31: *qanni ā^t Urzuxina* 'the district of (i. e. about) the city of U.'; H. 148, 4: *da'āleka [ana] qanni ā^t Turušpa šupur* 'send your scouts to the district of T';² Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, ii. p. 9, l. 11: *ina qanni ā^t xarrān* 'in the district of Harran.' For further examples, see Johns' *Assyrian Domesday Book* I I, 24, 39; 3 I, 5; 4 VII, r. 9, etc.; Johns' *Assyrian Deeds*, Nos. 331, 6; 472, 10; Knudtzon, *Gebete*, Nos. 108, 8; 109, 7.

qannu also means the border or skirt of a garment. In Craig's *Religious Texts*, p. 64, ll. 17-18, we have: *nāri mārāt Sin, rīmī šubtāki, kurbi Šar-ukīn gabīt qanniki* 'Rest, daughter of Sin, repose in thine abode; bless Šargon, who grasps thy skirt' (i. e. as a suppliant). Again, *ibid.*, p. 6, ll. 2-3) *ša iḡbatu ina šepā¹¹ Šarrat Ninua lā ilā'at (d, t.) ina puḫur ilāni rabāte, ša ina qanni sa¹² Ūrkittu qayir lā ilē'at (d, t) ina puḫur radānātešu* 'he who grasps the feet of the Queen of Nineveh does not perish (?) for all the great gods; he who holds fast to the skirt of Ūrkītu does not perish for all his adversaries.' In King's *Magic*, No. 18, ll. 9-12, we find *gabtakū-ma ki teri³ ina qannika, ki murāni, Marduk, alāsum urkika* 'I cling fast, like a fringe, to thy skirt; like a foal, o Marduk, I run after thee.' In Harper's *Letters*, No. 676, rev. 7-8: *aḡṭadad ina qannišu artakas* 'I bowed down, I held fast to his (the god's) skirt' (i. e. in supplication). Finally, in VR. 15. 50 d: *qannu ša erišti* seems to mean 'skirt, border of a garment,' *erīštu* being doubtless a byform of *arištu* 'outer garment' (Del. II. W., 139). In the following line (51 d.) *qannu ša xarišti* means, apparently, 'anchor cable,' which was, of course, coiled up or wound around the capstan. *xurrušu* means 'to moor, or anchor,' a boat; *mācrašu*, a synonym of *timmu* and *markas elippi* (Del. II. W., 293, 622), is the ship's cable; and in IV R. 29, 2b (cited in Meissner's *Supple-*

¹ Here written *qa-ni*, an orthography which occurs not infrequently, though I have not thought it necessary to note the instances in the following examples. I shall hereafter cite Harper's *Letters* as H.

² See my remarks on *da'ālu* in JAOS. xxii, 23.

³ For *teru* 'fringe, border,' compare Talm. תורה 'twisted band, border.'

ment, p. 42) we have *tāmtim rapašti ša xarištu la uridu ana libbi* 'the wide sea into which no anchor has descended,' i. e. the unfathomed depths of the ocean.

qannu also means 'outside,' the corresponding term for 'inside' being *qapsu*. Thus, in H. 354, rev. 2, *bābu ša qanni* means 'the outer gate'; H. 356, rev. 1-4: *lā ina qanni uṣā, lā memēni ina qapsi ekalli ina pān šarri errab* 'he shall not go out, nor shall any one come inside the palace into the king's presence.' H. 670, rev. 7: *ana qanni lušeg'u* 'they shall carry out (the torches),' and *ibid*, ll. 9-10: *kima šarru ana qanni ittugī* 'when the king goes out.' Again, H. 594, 8-9: *adu ūmu XXII KAM ša arar Tašritu ana qanni lā uṣā* 'He is not to go out until the 22nd day of Tishri.'

b) *xarāpu* 'to abound.'

This stem may be compared to Heb. חָרַף 'autumn,' and Arabic *xarafa* 'to gather fruit.' Besides the infinitive, cited without translation in *HW*. 291, the verb occurs in at least two passages. H. 3, 12-13: ^{am} *gallé ammaté ni-xárup nišáqí* 'we shall give those men plenty to drink'; and in the fable of the ox and the horse, the ox says (*CT*. XV, 34, 27): *ixtarpūni akāl kiššati* 'I have plenty of fodder to eat,' literally the eating of fodder abounds to me.' The derivative *xarpu* is given in *II R*. 47, 25 e f (cf. *Del. II.W.*, 289) as the equivalent of a Sumerian expression which may be rendered *ebūru kabtu* 'heavy, bountiful harvest.' Another derivative is *xarāpu* 'locust' (*S^b* 252), properly the 'multitudinous (insect).' In *Del. II.W.*, 289, the word is given as *xarābu*, from חרב, as 'the devastating (insect)', but this is hardly possible since the form *fu'āl* must have a passive or intransitive meaning.

xaruptu, and *xiruptu* (*Del. II.W.*, 291, Meissner, *Supplement*, 41) also seem to be derivatives of this stem, though it is difficult to infer their meaning from the context in which they occur.

¹ I owe this suggestion to Professor Haupt.

The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other Languages.—

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IN those languages with which we are most familiar, the languages of the Indo-European and Semitic families of speech, words that stand to each other in the relation of modifier and modified, as, for example, noun and adjective, require no exterior element to show this relation. The concord in ending, as in *equus candidus*, or the position, as in *cheval blanc*, is quite sufficient for this purpose.

In Tagalog, however, as in the Philippine languages in general, words that stand in the relation of modifier and modified are usually joined together by certain particles, which form a distinct part of speech.¹ For example, a Tagalog, instead of saying for 'good man' *mabúti táwo* with immediate juxtaposition of the adjective and noun, says *mabúti-ng táwo* or *táwo-ng mabúti* with a connective particle, the guttural nasal *ng* between the two.

For particles like this *ng* we may employ the term 'ligature,' translating the Spanish term *ligazon*.

This ligature has in Tagalog a triple form, viz., *na*, *-ng*, *-n*. *Na* is used regularly after a word ending in a consonant (though it may also be used after one ending in a vowel), e. g., for 'strong man' we have *malakás na táwo* where *na* is used after the consonantal ending of the adjective *malakás* 'strong.' The particle *ng* is used after a word ending in a vowel or *n*, e. g., *mabúti-ng táwo* 'good man,' where the guttural nasal is used after the vocalic ending of the adjective *mabúti* 'good'; and *báyang malakí* 'large town,' where the final *n* of *báyan* 'town' coalesces with the guttural nasal of the ligature giving *báyang*.² The particle *n* is sometimes used instead of the

¹ Cf. my first series of *Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar*, JAOS., Vol. xxvii, 1906, p. 325 f.

² The statement is usually made in the various Tagalog grammars that *g* is the ligature in this last case, but this view has of course no phonetic basis, there being no *g* sound in such endings, the letter *g* being simply a part of the digraph *ng* representing the guttural nasal.

particle *ng*, e. g., 'Spanish shirt' may be expressed by either *báro-ng kastíla* or *báro-n kastíla*. The difference between the forms *ng* and *n* is perhaps dialectic; it is the same difference as we have in English between the elegant and the colloquial pronunciations of the present participle in *ing*, e. g., 'doing' and 'doin.' These connective particles have the greatest variety of uses, but the principle underlying their use is practically always the same, viz., that the two elements joined must stand to each other in the relation of modifier and modified.

The cases in which the ligature is used fall into two general classes, viz.—*a*) cases in which it is employed to join words and phrases; *b*) cases in which it is employed to join sentences. I shall not attempt to trace in detail all the complicated uses of the ligature, but will confine myself to some of the most striking cases.

The most important of the words and phrases joined by the ligature are the following, viz.—*a*) the noun and its adjective, which construction is exemplified in *mabáti-ng táwo* 'good man': *b*) a noun and a following noun modifying the first as a genitive, e. g., *ang báhay na bató* 'the house of stone,' the ligature *na* standing between *báhay* 'house' and its modifier *bató* 'stone': *c*) an adjective or adverb and an adverbial modifier, e. g., *lubbá-ng mabáti* 'very good,' the adverb *lubbá*¹ 'very,' which modifies the adjective *mabáti*, being followed by the ligature: *d*) a verb and an adverbial modifier, e. g., *bágo-ng ginawá* 'just, newly made,' the ligature being used between the verb *ginawá* 'was made' and the adverb *bágo* 'newly, just': *e*) the particles that express the idea of 'to have, to possess,' viz., *may* and *walá* and their object 'the thing possessed,' e. g., *mayroón siyá-ng salapí* 'he has money,' the ligature *ng* being used between the word for money *salapí* and the word immediately preceding it; (here the ligature seems to have about the force of a partitive article like French

¹ The popular idea that the people who say 'doin' drop their *g*'s is of course incorrect, the guttural nasal represented by the digraph *ng* being in this case simply changed to the dental nasal.

² The circumflex accent is used with an accented final vowel to denote that it is followed by the glottal catch. When a final vowel of this character is followed by the ligature, the glottal catch is lost, and the accent is indicated simply by the acute accent mark.

du, since *may* and *walá* are used only when the object is something indefinite): *f*) the interrogative pronouns and following verb; in Tagalog the interrogative pronouns are not used as subjects of verb; for example, a Tagalog does not say 'who did it?' 'but who is the one that did it'? *sino ang gungmawá*, 'who' *sino* being treated as predicate, to the following clause 'the one that did it' *ang gungmawá*, consisting of the verb *gungmawá* preceded by the article *ang*; instead of this article *ang*, which is equivalent to a compound relative¹ 'the one that,' Tagalog may employ the ligature, e. g., *sino-ng gungmawá* for *sino ang gungmawá*.

The ligature is also used to join two sentences together, the sentence after the ligature being usually an adjective or noun clause. For example, 'I received the letter that you sent' is rendered as follows: *tinanggáp ko ang sulat* ('I received the letter') *na* (the ligature = 'that') *ipinadala mo sa ákin* ('you sent me'), the two clauses 'I received the letter' and 'you sent me' being joined by the ligature *na*.

The most original of these various functions of the ligature was probably that of joining together a noun and a modifying adjective element, and its use in joining an adjective clause, i. e., as relative pronoun, is perhaps more original than its use in joining single words. From its use between noun and adjective was doubtless developed the idea that the particle was the proper element to show the connection between any two words or elements that stood in the relation of modifier and modified, so that it was used not only between noun and adjective, but also between adjective and adverb, between verb and adverb, etc.

The ligature after the particles indicating possession, viz., *may* and *walá*, and after the interrogative pronouns, seems to be the simple relative used with the force of the compound relative *ang*. For example, in the sentence *mayroón akó-ng salapí* 'I have some money,' the ligature + the noun *salapí* means practically 'what is money?' and in the sentence *sino-ng gungmawá* 'who did it?' we have seen that the ligature + verb is equivalent to the article *ang* + the verb (cf. above).

While the use of these connective particles or ligatures appears most prominently in the Philippine Languages, forming one of

¹ The compound relative is regularly expressed by the article *ang*.

ligature in Tagalog,¹ e. g., 'a weak man' is either **ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ** **Ν-ΒΩΒ** *ou-róme 'n-čób* or **ΟΥ-ΒΩΒ** **Ν-ΡΩΜΕ** *ou-čób 'n-róme*, the particle *n* in both cases standing between noun and adjective just as the ligature *ng* stands in Tagalog in *táwo-ng mabúti* or *mabúti-ng táwo* 'good man.'

The use of these connective particles, then, in all these languages is to be regarded simply as an extension of the use of the relative pronoun. While it is found in its highest development in the Philippine languages, certain other languages, notably Modern Persian and Coptic, have also made considerable advances in the same direction. Generally speaking, the human mind is the same the world over, and linguistic phenomena that are found in one family of speech may be expected to recur in other families. But the fact that, as here, these phenomena often reach their highest development in obscurer forms of speech, shows the importance of some knowledge of those languages that stand outside of the beaten path of linguistic study.

¹ Cf. Steindoff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 2^{te} Aufl. Berlin, 1904, §§ 164-166.

Note on Professor Prince's Article on the English-Rommany Jargon in Vol. xxviii, 2, of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.—By Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Camberley, Surrey, England.

I WOULD suggest that sufficient attention has not been given to the theories of Miklosich and Pischel as to the probable connection between the Dard or "Piśāca" languages of the North-Western Frontier of British India and Rommany.¹ The connection is much closer than that between Rommany and any of the languages of India proper. To show this I append a list of some words in Professor Prince's vocabulary with their Piśāca equivalents. I also take the liberty of suggesting a few corrections on other points. Did time permit, I could largely increase the list of Piśāca-Rommany equations.

The Piśāca languages are the following:—

Baṣṭgali (B.)	Kho-wār (Kh.)
Wai-alā (W.)	Šinā (Š.)
Veron (V.)	Kāśmīrī (Kś.)
Paśai (P.)	Gārwi (Gār.)
Gawar-bati (G.)	Maiyā (M.)
Kalāśā (K.)	

Two important points should be noted in these languages. In their earliest form known to us, that of Paiśācī Prakrit, they hardened Indian *g, j, ḍ, d,* and *b,* to *k, c, t, t,* and *p,* respectively. This is constantly followed by Rommany. In their modern forms they invariably, except in borrowed words, disaspirate Indian *gh, jh, ḍh, dh,* and *bh,* to *g, j, ḍ, d,* and *b,* respectively. It will be seen that this also is followed with great consistency in Rommany.

With reference to the origin of the word 'Rom', I may mention that the professional singers of these people are known as Dōms, who are not a low caste like the Dōms of India proper.

¹ I here follow Professor Prince's spelling of this word. The same remark applies to all words Gypsy quoted below.

These are the people who would have been naturally sent from India to Persia, as is said to have happened at the request of Behram Gaur for 12,000 Indian musicians.

Adrée, in. G. *atra-n*. K. *uḍrī-man*.

Avrée, out. Kh. *bēri* (Avesta *dvar*).

Bänder, divide. P. *wante*. G. *ʋ bent* (Skr. *ʋ want*.)

Bēng, devil. Sanskrit *vyāṅga*, crippled. Cf. "boiteux." *Vyāṅga* becomes *bēng* in Hindī, and means "a frog." Cf. Eng. gypsy, "*bengeski koli*," devilish thing, an epithet of frog.

Bēsh, sit. V. *ʋ biš-l*. Cf. H. *bais-nā*, to sit.

Bicher, send. Rightly compared with H. *bhējnā*. I have not met the corresponding word in Piśāca, but in Piśāca under general phonetic laws *bh* becomes *b*, and *j* may become *š*. In the oldest form of Piśāca (Prakrit) *j* becomes *ch* (c).

Bikkin, sell. H. *bik-na*, to be sold. Piśāca equivalent not known.

Bókkalo, hungry. M. *būcha*, hunger. Again note the disaspiration of the H. *bhūkhā*.

Bongo, crooked. Cf. *vyāṅga* under *bēng*, above.

Bōsh, violin. Skr. *vādya*, Kś. *ʋ baj*, to sound.

Chib, *jib*, tongue. Piśāca, *jip*, *jib*, or *jub*. Again see the disaspiration of H. *jibh* and the hardening of *j* to *ch* (i.e., c).

Chong, knee. Skr. *janḡhā*. Typical Piśācī change of *j* to *ch* (c) and disaspiration of *gh*.

Drab, poison. Skr. *dravya*, Kś. *drav*.

Gry, horse. Cf. Kashmiri *gur*^u (base *guri*). Note again disaspiration from H. *ghōṛā*.

Hangar, coal. Š. *hagār*, fire, coal.

Hēšta, seven. Surely < Persian *haft*.

Höcher, burn. Skr. *śuṣka*. Cf. Kś *hokh*^u, fem. *höchh*^ü, dry.

Jūva, woman. I should be more inclined to compare Skr. *yuvati*. ? cf. also B. *ju-gūr*.

Kair, house. Kś. *gara*. Note again the disaspiration of H. *ghar*. In old Piśācī Prakrit *g* may become *k*.

Kan, ear. Kś. *kan*. The Hindi word is *kān*, not *kan*.

Kāni, hen, chicken. Š. *kankoro-co*, cock; B. *kup* or *kunṛ*, chicken. B. *kakak*, a fowl.

Kātsi, scissors. Surely this is the Piśāca root *kāt*, H. *kāt*, cut, and has nothing to do with *qainch*.

Kēl, play. Not H. *kēl*, but √ *khēl*, to play, sport.

Kēn, count. Rightly compared with H. *gin-nā*, but note the old Paisācī hardening of *g* to *k*.

Kīl, cheese. B. *kīl-ār*, cheese.

Kīn, buy. Š. √ *krin*. Cf. Hindi *kin-nā*, Skr. *krīṇāmi*.

Kīnlo, tired. Skr. *kṣīṇa*, H. *khīn*.

Kūr, beat. M. √ *koḍ*, *koṭ*.

Latti, she, *lester*, he, *lēnde*, they. The *l* of the third person appears as K. *ele-drūs*, they, V. *es-le*, he. Cf. Māwci Bhil., *lō*, he (connected with Pisāca).

Macho, fish. B. *matsa*.

Matto, drunk. Kś. *mat*^u.

Mūce, face. M. *mñ*.

Nar, name Kś. *nar*.

Nēcco, new. Kś. *nar*^u.

Nōko, own. ? H. (dialectic) (*ap*)*nēka*.

Pal, brother. Cf. G. *blaia*, P. *lāi*, with Paisācī hardening of *b* to *p*.

Pander, shut. H. *bandh-nā*. Cf. the old Pisāca change of *b* to *p*, and the disaspiration of *dh*.

Panjer, fist.=Pers. *panja*.

Pēn, say=Skr. *bhaya*. Note disaspiration and change of *b* to *p*.

Pōgger, break=Skr. *bhagna*. Note ditto, ditto.

Punsi-rān, fishing-rod. Note (if this be a genuine word) hardening of *b* in H. *bansī*.

Rāt, blood. Nothing to do with *zāt*. It is Kś. *rat*. Cf. Skr. *rakta*.

Rik, side, direction.=Skr. *diś*, *dik*. Change of initial *d* to *r* not uncommon.

Rāklo, a boy. Cf. Gujarātī *dikrō*. Same remarks apply; derivation from *laṭkā* is very doubtful.

Shālee, rice. B. *shālī*. Nothing to do with H. *chāwal*. It is the Skr. *śālī*.

Shell, cry out. Cf. H. *chillānā*.

Sherro, head. Kś. *shēr*.

Shtor, four. B. *što*. W. *štā*. Š. *corr.* Tocharish, *štcar*.¹

¹ See SIEG & SIEGLING, *Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen*. In *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxxix (1908), 924.

Saster, iron. Kś. *shistar*.

Savo, who, *so*, what. Cf. Gujarātī *śō*, what? Nothing to do with *jō*.

Savvi, *asáva*, to laugh. Kś. *ʋas*.

Sig, quick. Note the disaspiration of *gh*.

Tātto, hot. Kś. *taʔ*.

Trāsh. H. *trās*.

Tāl, hold. Kś. *ʋtal*, hold up.

Tūv, smoke. If this is H. *dhūā̃*, note the disaspiration and hardening of the *ḍ*. Modern Kś. has *duh*.

Wast, hand. Not Pers. *dest*, but Skr. *hastā*. Hence K. *hāst*, G. *hust*, and so on.

Harvest Festivals of the Land Dyaks.—By MRS. SAMUEL
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Introduction.

RELIGIOUS ceremonies, because they are growths and not inventions, gather to themselves elements of deep significance from many sides of life, absorbing a little here, a little there, assimilating the new to the old, converting incongruities into a single unit, with character all its own. The Land Dyak harvest festivals are to the Dyaks themselves customs with a single meaning, handed down, like all good things, from their ancestors. The careful analyst may find them more like a new-world city, whose component elements have come from many sources.

The harvest celebration consists of three parts, or one might better say, of three separate feasts, one held at the gathering of first fruits, one in the middle of harvest, and the last after the season's crop is stored. These rise in an ascending scale of importance to the final climax. Considered more broadly, they are seen to be only the culmination of a series of similar feasts held at intervals throughout the whole process of farming. So closely connected are all the farming ceremonials that it is impossible to understand the distinctively harvest festivals without considering at the same time the preceding rites.

My purpose is to construct, from comparison of numerous fragmentary notices, a summary of the religious ceremonies of the Land Dyaks directly concerned with care of farms, and to point out some of the elements in these which have an obvious origin in a present or past condition of their life.

I.

Local Factors Determining Agricultural Life.

A necessary preliminary to any such account of the agricultural festivals is a brief description of the Dyak process of cultivation and the causes that gave rise to it. Starting with the

desire to explain religious customs, I have been driven back and back to an inquiry into the island's geology. For with the exception of a few breaks due to the interoccurrence of external influences, the causal series runs much like an old Mother Goose rhyme. Geological forces made the soil, the soil produced the crops, the crops determined the method of farming, the method of farming demanded fixed social conditions and the social conditions shaped the ritual. It would carry me beyond the limits of this paper to go into a study of these broad primary foundations. But they demand at least a passing comment.

1. *Physical conditions.* The country of the Land Dyaks is the northwestern extremity of the Island of Borneo. Here the mountain range which forms the boundary between Sarawak and the southern mass of the island belonging to the Dutch approaches nearer to the sea than it does in its eastern portion, and runs almost parallel with the Sarawak coast line. The Land Dyaks live in the foothills of this range and in the valleys of the four rivers flowing from it through the western corner of Sarawak. In the more mountainous part their country consists of alternate valleys and heights, varying from low rounded hills to peaks of several thousand feet, the whole covered with dense jungle. Nearer the sea it spreads out into jungle-covered alluvial plains dotted with isolated mountains and hills, which rise abruptly out of the flat country.¹ The plains were formed by centuries of crumbling of the interior sandstone and granite mountains; the lonely hills were once rocky islets, which in course of time have been completely surrounded by detritus deposited by the mountain streams.²

Both the mountain valleys and coast plains afford excellent soil for rice-culture when stripped of their jungle. Well watered

¹ A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 286, 314-315; Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions*, pp. 29, 291-297, 351-352; Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo*, ii, p. 385; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy, i, pp. 193-195, 220, 300, 325, 335-336; *ibid.* in Keppel, *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido* (American edition of 1846), pp. 11-29, 90, 144, and 330; Sir Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, pp. 26 and 139.

² G. A. F. Molengraaf, *Borneo Expedition. Geological Explorations in Central Borneo* (English revised edition by G. J. Hinde, 1902), pp. 444 ff.

by streams and by daily showers, and with tropical suns to bring the grain to quick maturity, the country can easily yield a rich harvest every six months.³

2. *The method of cultivation.* How the Land Dyaks came into this region, what experience and traditions they brought with them, are problems that belong to the nebulous regions of speculative ethnology.⁴ Nothing is certain enough to take for granted; and any discussion of probabilities would carry me far beyond reasonable limits. I shall therefore, without forgetting that at any point of our investigation we may come upon facts whose explanation lies in a former habitat, consider only the influences of the present environment and the known contacts with outside peoples.

The Dyaks' own traditions point to a comparatively recent migration into the part of the country I have described, from some region not far distant. The chosen spots for settling would naturally be along the rivers, for more fertile fields and also because of the facilities for transportation. This latter is no slight consideration in a country without beasts of burden, and where the human carriers must traverse so-called "paths" consisting merely of single logs placed end to end over swamps and ravines; and with the extensive method by which farming is carried on in Borneo, many farms must be at a great distance from the village. Had the Land Dyaks been left to themselves in this fertile country, probably those tribes living below the point where the mountain streams become navigable rivers would have built longhouses along the banks, as did the Sea Dyaks. But they had the misfortune to be easy of access to predatory neighbours and were forced to choose the isolated hill as a village

³ Houghton, *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*, iii, p. 195, quoted by Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i, p. 60; St. John, i, p. 29; Low, p. 225; Keppel, p. 331; Hunt, in *ibid.*, p. 388.

⁴ Even their presence in Borneo is not perfectly understood. It is supposed by some writers that they are aboriginal, by others that they came from Java directly, by others from Anam, by others from Java via the Malay Peninsula. Cf. W. H. Furness, *A Sketch of Folk Lore in Borneo*, p. 4; G. W. Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, pp. 239-240, 258, 275-276; St. John, ii, p. 334; i, p. 8; Fred. Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, pp. 28 and 252; Chalmers in *Grant's Tour*, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 277; Low, p. 93 ff.; Haddon, p. 322.

site, even when this happened to be some seven or eight miles back from a river.⁵ From this eminence men, women, and children descend daily during the farming season to work on the farm lands at its base, or paddle up river to the more distant fields.

Land once cleared for planting is quickly overgrown in tropical Borneo. And each season the first farming operation consists of clearing the jungle. This is done by cutting through the largest trees, which in falling tear the smaller ones with them. The fallen forest is then set on fire for the double purpose of clearing away the debris and fertilizing the soil. Planting the carefully cherished seed is the next stage, and then follow trying months of constant weeding and watching to guard against blight and ward off destructive animals, work which falls largely to the share of the women. When the padi is ripe the entire village turns out again for several weeks' strenuous labor of harvesting, and a joyful carrying home and storing of the grain.⁶

II.

The Agricultural Feasts.

1. *Their connection with the season.* The whole labor of farming is for the Dyaks no mere prosaic routine, but a supernaturally protected process with constant festal interruptions. Before they begin clearing the land, a preliminary rite of taking omens divinely determines the location of the farm, which, owing to their habit of allowing land to lie fallow between crops, is never the same two years in succession. A religious feast is held in the midst of the work of cutting the jungle, preparatory to planting, and another when the fallen forest is set on fire. A third feast blesses the seed. Then follow several uneventful months while the rice is maturing. During this time no general celebrations occur. But individual families perform lesser rites; if any accident happens to the farm, if they have bad dreams, if a tree falls across the field path, in case of sickness or acci-

⁵ Low, pp. 278-279, 285-287.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 225-232, 317.; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 144-146; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i, p. 400; Wallace, i, p. 110, quoted *ibid.*, i, p. 407; Brooke Low, MS. notes, quoted *ibid.*, p. 403.

"Padi" is the general term for the unhusked rice.

dental death, and when the government rice-tax is paid.⁷ The next tribal function is the gathering of first fruits when the grain is ripe. It is followed in a couple of weeks by the mid-harvest festival, which interrupts the work of reaping. The final greatest feast of the year celebrates the completion of the whole process. Each tribal ceremony marks a distinct stage in the agricultural work.

2. *Common characteristics.* There is a curious similarity in these rites. They all consist of a putting aside of ordinary occupations, the inhabitants of a village remaining indoors, eating scantily, and receiving no visitors; of beating of gongs and drums; of erecting an altar on which are placed choice offerings to the spirits; of killing a fowl or pig; and finally of ending the taboo by eating the slain animals, and great merrymaking.

The principal difference is in the length of the taboo and the number of animals killed. From the one day interdict and sacrifice of a single fowl at jungle cutting and jungle burning, as also on the occasion of family offerings, the amount of time and number of victims required increase with the growing importance of the feasts, to two days' and nights' taboo, with several fowls killed, at the gathering of first fruits; four days, with sacrifice of pigs as well as fowls, at mid-harvest; finally, to eight or even sixteen days' taboo, with slaughter of many pigs and fowls, at the end of the season.⁸

III.

Practical Reasons for the Feasts.

If we ask why religious celebrations should be held on the occasions the Dyaks have chosen, the reason for each is not far to seek.

1. *Need of propitious weather.* At jungle cutting and when the ground is burnt over and the seed planted, the Dyaks feel themselves peculiarly dependent upon the action of unseen

⁷ There is also a feast held at some time during the season,—I have been unable to find the exact time,—which secures as a necessary preparation for it, the putting in order of paths around the village, and leading to the farm. Cf. below, note 51.

⁸ St. John, i. pp. 185, 190–198, 203; Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i. pp. 401, 412, 414; Low, pp. 251, 254, 262.

forces. Wet weather at the beginning of this process would indefinitely delay preparing the farms. But as soon as the seed is actually planted plentiful rains are desired. The time has been chosen by the elders of the tribe so as to take advantage of the end of the dry season for burning, the beginning of the wet for planting. But the weather is not entirely calculable; and the evil spirits who take a malicious delight in sending storms at the wrong time must be appeased.

2. *Local accidents.* The lesser celebrations during the growth of the rice are simply to ward off the attacks of spirits who bring disaster. It seems curious that the government rice-tax should be regarded as one of the disastrous accidents of farming. But under Malay rule it was, to say the least, a misfortune. The custom of Malay officials was to collect revenue by sending boats to take the Dyaks' rice in nominal exchange for goods not worth one tenth its value, and usually things the Dyaks did not want. If any tribe objected to this bargain the women and children were carried off into slavery. Sir Spencer St. John, who describes this religious ceremony, wrote from observations made about 1855, only a few years after the cession of this part of the country to Rajah Brooke; and he is probably referring to a custom instituted during Malay control, and kept alive by dread of traders of that nation who continued to drive their oppressive bargains wherever the Rajah was unable at the time to protect his weakened subjects.⁹

3. *Survival of historic utility.* While the planting feast, like the sacrifice at jungle cutting, may be partially accounted for as an offering and prayer for rain, the accompanying rite of blessing the seed, performed by the priestesses, and the solemn planting of a few sacred grains called the "soul of the rice," must be considered in connection with a ceremony at the mid-harvest and final feasts, in which the season before this "soul" has been secured from the crop. On these two occasions there is a wild dance of gaily-dressed priests and priestesses, carrying mystic symbols, and they whirl about the room to the accompaniment of drums and gongs. At last the high priest springs on the altar and shakes the corner-post. Small stones, bunches of hair, and

⁹Low, p. 247; Brooke in Mundy. i. p. 188; St. John, i. p. 198; Keppel, p. 339 ff.

grains of rice fall at the feet of the dancers. These grains are the soul, and are carefully kept to be planted with the seed next year. On this, they think, depends the life and health of the crop, for nothing can live without a soul.¹⁰

I should like to offer a tentative suggestion as to the possible origin of this custom, from a study of Dyak conditions. It cannot be more than tentative with the meagre historical information available.

Dyak tradition affirms that they have become settled rice-planters only in recent times. At some time before they came to their present habitat, they were wandering jungle folk, like the savages still to be found at the headwaters of most Borneo rivers, living by hunting and trapping and the wild fruits and edible roots of the forest. Then someone, a demigod they say—probably some Malays or Javans—taught them to cut and burn and plant.¹¹

Now the first lesson of a people just beginning agriculture is to refrain from eating all the crop, in order to save a little for seed. Long custom and the experienced advantages of prudence are not present to aid their restraint. But religious authority appeals to them. It becomes a duty commanded by the gods to preserve seed-grain and bury it in the fields with prayer and ritual the next year. The duty is taught in the most impressive way, ceremonially. As such people advanced in agricultural

¹⁰ Cf. accounts by St. John and Chalmers noted above, also St. John, i, p. 187; Roth, i, p. 263; Brooke in Keppel, p. 194. Mr. F. B. Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, ch. x) says that totemism taught these savages the lesson of abstinence from eating the flesh of cattle and all the wheat, and this made an increase of herds and crops. The principle implied in this statement, that necessary foresight was secured religiously, is exactly the line on which I have conjectured the growth of the Land Dyak ceremony. It will be seen, however, merely from this case of the Land Dyaks, that Mr. Jevons's sweeping generalization on totemism will have to be somewhat modified. There is nothing, so far as I can see, approaching a clan totem in the Dyaks' idea of the rice, nor, indeed, of any of the several deities connected with harvest. It is just such difficulties that call for further intensive studies of the conditions of individual peoples as a basis for general comparative theories.

¹¹ For a discussion of this legend of the origin of rice-culture, cf. article by the present writer in this JOURNAL, vol. xxvi, part one.

experience to the present position of the Land Dyaks, keeping the grain for planting would be a matter of course, no longer needing ritual persuasion. So that in the present transmuted ceremony not all the seed but only a few grains, called the soul of the rice, are religiously preserved and prayerfully planted.

4. *Tribal reasons for the rite of first fruits.* The offering of first fruits to the god of harvest seems almost too commonplace to need any explanation. But perhaps it may not be amiss to point out one or two of its beneficial results to the Land Dyaks.

It serves, in the first place, to emphasize the community ideal. No man may touch his own harvest till the priestesses have gathered bunches of grain from all the fields, and the common feast of the whole village has been held. After this is over they may repair the bamboo platforms on which the rice is trodden out and set about the work of reaping.

The simultaneous harvesting thus secured has also its practical advantages. By this means the men, whose field work is not needed between the time of felling the jungle and reaping, are all left free at the same time to organize jungle expeditions.¹²

Timely ripening of all fields has been secured by a simultaneous planting. The laggards and indolent are kept up to this by a strict taboo which forbids a man to eat new rice under any circumstances until his own be ripe. Sir Hugh Low says that this custom "was doubtless intended in its original institution to prevent the prevalence of indolence. . . . Could they eat the new rice, many of them would perhaps, from idleness, delay the preparing of their farms, hoping to borrow, and thus become indebted to their more industrious neighbors; but with this curious but useful practice before them, they all plant at one time . . . and can only become indebted toward the end of the season."¹³

5. *Rest and reaction.* The mid-harvest festival, Chalmers aptly suggests, gives an interval of rest in the hard labor of harvesting. The prospect of feasting and drinking and excitement

¹² For description of hunting, birds' nest and bees' wax gathering cf. Low, pp. 314-316; Grant, quoted by Roth, i, p. 428; St. John, i, pp. 224-229; of the war path—Brooke in Keppel, pp. 190-192; *ibid.*, in Mundy, i, p. 331.

¹³ Low, p. 302.

gives added zest to their early work; and the religious enthusiasm aroused stirs them to further efforts.

That the greatest of the farming festivals should celebrate the completion of the season seems fitting. It is the normal reaction to merriment and lavishness, when the strain of toil and frugality is suddenly released. This is the end of labor; the other feasts were only intervals.

But the Dyak theory of an occasion is not apt to correspond to its real cause. The interpretation of this "Nyishupen" is connected with their whole conception of the spirit world and its relation to their well-being. Sickness and ill-luck, they think, come to men and crops from the onslaught of evil spirits, and may be warded off by the application of charms, or by religious ceremonies, known from this connection as doctorings. The annual harvest home gave an excellent opportunity for a periodic preventive, and is regarded as a general doctoring to secure supernatural protection to men and fields.

To sum up the occasions for the agricultural feasts—they occur when special requisites of weather or threatening of disaster make the people feel a need of supernatural aid, or when some practical purpose may be served by a temporary suspension of labor and a communal gathering.

IV.

Dyak Feasts in General.

1. *Harvest festivals fully understood only in connection with other feasts.* The reasons I have given seem to me to account sufficiently for the timing of the agricultural celebrations. For the existence among the Dyaks of religious feasts as such, we must look farther than the exigencies of the farming process. For not only are the three harvest celebrations similar in many respects to the lesser ceremonies that precede them, but in general character all are like numerous other feasts that have nothing to do with planting and reaping.

Ceremonies of supernatural import are coextensive with their jollifications and great social gatherings. Or rather we may say that every assemblage for unusual eating and drinking and pleasurable excitement has been given a religious significance.

2. *Feast and fast—its use.* Dyak economy, in many respects not unlike civilized economy, consists in doing without for a longer or shorter period and then indulging to one's heart's content. It is one way, and for undisciplined people a very effective way, of preserving the food supply. It also serves a more round-about economic purpose, particularly as regards drinking, by keeping them between whiles efficient for labor. They ordinarily refrain altogether from their favorite intoxicant and are compensated for this restraint by plentiful indulgence at feasts. Shall we blame the feasts as cultivating a love for arrack or is it truer to see in them the prospective pleasure which gives the childlike Dyaks sufficient self-control for the intermediate temperance?¹⁴

3. *Education in ideals.* Given the alternate feasting and fasting, which may or may not in itself have been regarded as a duty to the gods, the spiritual meaning which has become attached to the feasts makes them unconsciously serve a purpose which we are inclined to regard as a product of our most recent activities,—the purpose of general religious education. For not even in the jungle does the individual develop spontaneously the attitude of mind and conduct which has grown out of the community's experience and crystalized in generations of tradition. The various feasts impress upon the Dyak's mind his tribal ideals. Occurring generally as a reaction after a period of strain or distress, every merrymaking is given a religious interpretation according to the occasion.¹⁵

When the successful warriors return, the celebration takes the character of worship of the trophy heads, and the gods of war; the ritual during the farming season is addressed to the gods of harvest; when a man dies, the feast which ends the mourning taboo emphasises their ideas of life and death, and the necessity

¹⁴ Grant, p. 19, and Denison, p. 45, quoted by Roth, i, p. 392; St. John, i, pp. 219, 230.

¹⁵ Sir Hugh Low (p. 253) says that "the Dyaks, excepting on festival occasions, pay but little attention to their divinities," but that they are often in dread of the malignant spirits. The worship of evil spirits is a deep-rooted pre-agricultural cult, which the Land Dyaks have by no means abandoned. If the new and higher gods are forgotten between festivals in their honour, there is so much the more need for periodic celebrations to keep them in mind.

of living well to secure future happiness; the feast for the newborn child, the interrelation of all members of the tribe, and also the influence over their lives of the unseen spirits; the celebration at housebuilding, once more the community life and devotion to the community gods; the feast at inauguration of a chief, the responsibilities of leadership on the one side, of loyal devotion on the other.¹⁶

Thus the feasts keep in mind the traditional religious attitude. There is among the Dyaks no literature, no pulpit, no school. Their training in the national faith is by the kindergarten method of festal object lesson.

One can hardly fail to see its result who stops for a moment to consider the emotional power of ritual. Stirring the imagination and the will, it impresses an idea as no amount of rational reiteration could do.

So much for the agricultural feasts in general. They have a direct practical side of economy, and of timing so as to be advantageous to the system of farming; and a moral effect which has an ultimate practical influence. If we analyse more closely the component factors of each ceremony it will not be difficult to find in these, too, besides a mere symbolic picturing of tribal life, an assistance to immediate material utility as well as the more subtle benefit of implanting ideals. I shall attempt to trace these influences in each of the characteristic elements of the agricultural feasts,—the taboo, the animal sacrifice, the invocation to the gods, the personnel of the participants, and the ritual symbolism.

V.

The Festal Taboo.

1. *Its association with a general scheme of prohibitions.* An inseparable adjunct of every feast is the taboo. It varies little in character on the several occasions, as we have seen, but greatly in extent. This taboo at feast time is one of the most interesting usages with which we have to deal. Its theory and sanction reach

¹⁶ Boyle, p. 211; St. John, i, pp. 170, 175, 181, 196, 197; Keppel, p. 233; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 189, 191, 194; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 199, 201, 204; Low, pp. 254, 263.

out into the entire scheme of Dyak belief. Its consequences involve the whole social order. As the agricultural feasts could not be explained with reference only to the events they marked, but were found to be fundamentally the same as the feasts of birth, death, and war, merely timed and given character by the occasion; so the farming taboos are but part of a complex system of prohibitions covering many spheres of activity.

Under the generic name of taboo, convention has chosen to class all the prohibitions in primitive religion whose transgression brings instant, automatic punishment. So that whatever may have been the original Polynesian meaning of the word, tabooed has come to be in common parlance a strong term for prohibited. The use of the Borneo equivalent, "pamali," or in the Land Dyak speech, "porich," covers a multitude of negative commands, and is therefore fairly well represented by the common sense of the word taboo.

Naturally many sorts of things are religiously interdicted. There is the taboo on certain wild animals, which is in Borneo, as has been shown for many other people, an evident game law; there is the taboo on fruit trees, which sanctions private property by bringing swift disaster on anyone other than the owner who touches them; there is the taboo on warlike dances in time of peace, a wise provision among this excitable people for following the maxim about sleeping dogs; and a taboo on consanguineous marriage, which upholds the social order by threats of immediate disaster. Of wide application is this system of preventives, a simple and efficient means of securing law and order.¹⁷

Extremely effective, one would say, if you can get the people to believe in it. It may occur to some to question how this desirable end is secured. Lang meets the question by saying that the results of breaking the taboo accord with fancied experience, not with real. He gives childlike people the credit they deserve for constructive imagination. And this helps to account for the many absurd taboos, unmeaning to us at least, which are gravely given equal weight with progressive, socializing laws. Lang further shows that the supernatural effect of taboo is often actually brought about by suggestion. A man who finds he has

¹⁷ Brooke in Keppel, p. 146; Denison, pp. 14, 18, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 388, 389; St. John, i, pp. 206, 209, 223; Low, pp. 266, 300; Boyle, p. 211.

committed the awful deed which brings death, succumbs to sheer fright. Instances of this sort are well authenticated.

Accepting all this, I should like to offer a further hint. One does not need to produce hypnotically most of the disasters the Dyaks attribute to the infringement of taboos. Crops fail, houses burn, sickness comes; of course because someone broke the taboo. Let a wise old man of the Dyaks but point out the connection between transgression and penalty, and the evidence of fact is irrefutable.

The taboo in general, then, is a religious means of securing social utility, a warning against doing certain inadvisable things lest dire results follow. The festal taboo is also of this nature, though perhaps less obviously than some others.

2. *The taboo at feast time consists, not as the others we have been considering of prohibitions of things always wrong, but of temporary interdict of daily duties.* The festal taboo sets apart from one to sixteen days for religious observances, and makes the feast of many times the effectiveness it would have if it were a mere accompaniment of ordinary doings. Indeed this cessation of labor is indispensable if the whole village is to join in the long, elaborate ritual. Change of occupation thus heightens the sacredness of the feast, and also gives leisure for its enjoyment. The closed house, moreover, secures the presence of every member of the tribe, and secures freedom from outside intrusion, a wise provision to keep the wealth of the tribe from being displayed to raiders.

Some of the agricultural taboos have incidentally special advantages, as that which closes the farms for a few days after planting and gives the seed a start before being trampled on.¹⁵ And again, the cessation of labor in the midst of harvesting provides for a needed rest. The Dyaks are reported to be good workers by fits and starts. If we wish to go further in our search for causes, we might find that this characteristic had something to do with all the labor taboos. A single religious fact, analysed to the bottom, often reveals as many causes as a simple action sometimes has reinforcing motives. It is not at all improbable that the Dyak leaders instinctively regulated the inherent tendencies to drop work and celebrate at any moment, by making idleness a periodic religious duty.

¹⁵ Low, p. 262.

VI.

Animal Sacrifice at the Harvest Feasts.

1. *A normal instance.* Associated with every occasion when a taboo is declared is the custom of religiously killing and eating an animal. The sacrificial animals of the Dyaks, in common with all the settled tribes of this part of Borneo, are fowls and domestic pigs. These, as we have seen, are killed and eaten at all the harvest feasts. Each worshipper partakes of some of the flesh, a small portion is placed on the altar as the share of the spirits invoked, and the blood is sprinkled over the participants. In all three respects this is a perfectly normal instance of animal sacrifice. It may be interesting to see how this case, in which we know fairly exactly the conditions and customs of the people, fits into one or two current theories on the subject of animal sacrifice.

2. *Dyak sacrifice cannot be explained by totemistic theories or as a survival of a hunting or herding stage.* According to Jevons, the sacred animal is killed because blood is regarded as the seat of life, and therefore when the presence of the supernatural totem ally is needed its blood must be shed.¹⁹ Apart from any objections one may have to the logic of this theory, it evidently does not apply to the custom of the Dyaks. For neither their fowls nor their pigs, though they have some supernatural powers, have the characteristic attributes of totem gods. They are neither individual nor tribal tutelary spirits, the tribe is not supposed to be descended from them, or even allied to them in friendly agreement. Nor in this instance is the presence of the victim's spirit secured by shedding its blood. On the contrary, a Kenyah address to the sacrificial animal shows the belief that killing the pig sends its spirit away to take messages to the higher gods.²⁰

¹⁹ Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, ch. xi.

²⁰ "It is probable that Balli Penyalong is never addressed without the slaughter of one or more pigs, and also that no domestic pig is ever slaughtered without being charged beforehand with some message of prayer to Balli Penyalong which its spirit may carry up to him." Hose and McDougall, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1901, p. 181. Balli Penyalong is the Supreme Being of the Kenyahs, *ibid.*, p. 174; cf. also William Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 40.

Jevons asserts (inconsistently, I think, with the examples he has given) that animal sacrifice dates from the pastoral stage and does not go back to the hunting stage. Tiele, however, thinks it characteristic of both these periods. He says that the earliest sacrifice would be animal if "the earliest race of men were hunters and herdsmen, and not tillers of the soil, whose offerings to their gods would consist of the first fruits of their field, flowers, and other produce."²¹

Contrary to Tiele's theory, in Borneo it is just the tillers of the soil who do sacrifice animals. None of the tribes have had any experience of herding, an occupation impossible in the jungle. All, it is true, are to some extent hunters at the present time; and there is strong reason for believing that the tribes now settled in agricultural communities were once, like their kinsmen of the inner forests, almost entirely dependent upon spear and blow-pipe. It might be surmised that the agriculturists' animal sacrifice was a survival of this hunting stage. In that case we should expect to find it much in evidence among the wild forest people who have not developed further. These people have in their religion much in common with the agricultural tribes. But in no account of them have I been able to find the slightest trace of animal sacrifice. Apparently in Borneo it is not until animals have been domesticated that they are used as sacrificial victims.²²

3. *The sacrifice is a means of economizing a limited supply of domestic animals.* In discussing the sacrifice of domestic animals, Robertson Smith says that they were the luxury, or famine food, not only of the agricultural Semites, but also among

²¹ Jevons, ch. xii; Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, ii, p. 144.

²² One of the chief occasions of animal sacrifice among the agricultural tribes is in case of illness, when the waving and killing of a chicken, or slaughter of a pig, is regarded as one of the essential elements of the ceremonial cure. It is noticeable that in Haddon's account of a medicine-man cure among the Punans, forest people of the interior of the Kayan country, while many symbolic actions are described very similar to parts of the "cures" of more advanced tribes, there is a striking absence of any mention of a slain animal. Haddon would hardly have omitted this had it been part of the rite (pp. 366-367).

The only sacrifice of which I have an account among the wandering tribes is the offering of an ornament to the spirit of a newly-entered river. Furness, *Folk-Lore*, p. 25.

the earlier nomadic Arabs.²³ And in another place, that the sanctity of domestic animals must generally be referred to the earliest nomadic times.²⁴ To nomadic, that is herding, times their sanctity cannot be referred in Borneo, where such times never existed. But I believe that the same cause which made the herd sacred to the nomads, (a reason that Dr. Smith implied in the passage I referred to, but has not fully developed,) the social economy which provided for the preservation of the herd by restricting slaughter to solemn and festal occasions, also accounts for the sanctity and sacrifice of Borneo fowls and pigs.

The wild pigs are apparently killed by the Dyaks unrestrictedly whenever they can find them. All over Borneo they are reported to be plentiful. And there is little need of economy in this respect.

The domestic pigs, foreigners declare, can hardly be discriminated from the wild; but the Dyaks value them highly. They keep them under their houses and take pains to feed them. St. John says that they "have a sort of respect" for them, and that an English gentleman was once in disgrace for allowing his dogs to hunt one that was wandering about the fruit groves, one that he took to be a wild pig. At time of harvest they take their pigs out to the farms and pen them under the houses there, "that they may with their owners partake of the plenty of the joyous season." Then at the harvest feasts, as on all important occasions, a pig is killed with great solemnity and ceremony.²⁵

The supply of domestic pigs is restricted; and doubtless the high value set upon them in itself gave an impetus to the veneration. Still more effective is the need for frugality which must be religiously supported in a community of thoughtless folk.

The explanation of restricted supply may not seem to apply to the sacrifice of fowls, which are reported to be plentiful everywhere. In fact, perhaps not, but in principle it does. The value of abstinence is not to be measured by numbers alone, but by any effective motive for saving. And in this case it is not fear of extermination that makes it advisable to kill sparingly, but the greater advantages the Dyaks can get by selling their fowls to the Malays than by eating them themselves. According to Sir

²³ *The Religion of the Semites*. pp. 222-223.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

²⁵ St. John, ii, p. 250. and i, p. 185; Low, p. 309.

Hugh Low,²⁶ "Fowls are plentiful, but preserved more for sale to the Malays than for the use of the families who rear them." It is because they are sacred, the Dyaks say, that they do not eat them.²⁷ But it is a sort of sacredness that does not prevent their selling them. Indeed, I think it is the result of the selling.

From their restricted killing, the fowls as well as pigs have become indissolubly associated with religious rites. A part of the ritual of sacrifice is to wave them and thus secure some mystic benefit. When a small portion of boiled fowl is given to everyone at the feast, it brings good luck and security from sickness to all the recipients. A chief told Denison that without the distribution of boiled fowl he would not have dared to order the gongs to be beaten, for this was the part of the rite that made all the rest effective.²⁸ They have come to consider fowls as especially created for purposes of sacrifice, as will be seen from the following Sea Dyak address to the victim²⁹; since the Sea Dyaks have the same customs as the Land Dyaks in sacrifice of fowls, this may be fairly regarded as representing the feelings of both peoples:—

"The speckled fowl for sacrificial waving and cleansing.

For doctoring, for resisting.

Ye fowls enable us to escape the curse muttered unheard:³⁰

To counteract the omen of the low-voiced deer.

Hence ye fowls are for having and for offering.

But will not the bodies of birds suffice?³¹

Many may be the birds, and many the minas,

Bodies of hornbills, and bodies of green parrots;

But all are ineffectual for waving, for offering:

They are not worth a fowl as big as the fingers.

²⁶ Low, p. 310.

²⁷ Low, pp. 265-266.

²⁸ Cf. account of a feast at Aup, by Denison, quoted by Roth, i, p. 245; also St. John, i, p. 179.

²⁹ Translation of a Sea Dyak invocation by Archdeacon Perham, *Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.*, No. 19, 1887, quoted by Roth, i, p. 276.

³⁰ Whenever a bad omen is heard a fowl must be killed, and this sacrifice is supposed to avert the predicted evil.

³¹ Here follows a long list of the sacred birds of the jungle, whose omen cries are supposed to be messages of encouragement or warning from the great spirit.

That is the thing for waving and for offering.

"Ye fowls were ever the seed (for sacrifice)
 From our grandfathers and grandmothers,
 From ancient times from chiefs of old,
 Down to your fathers and mothers,
 Because we give you rice, we breed you,
 We give you food, give you nourishment,
 We hang for you nests, we make for you roosts,
 We make you coops, we make you baskets.

"Ye are in debt for sugar-cane as long as a pole,
 In debt for plantains, a long bunch. etc.³²

Hence ye fowls are for waving and for offering.

"Ye fowls scare away sickness, and make it run
 To the opening dawn of the morning
 To the end of the further heavens.

"So now we have nothing to hurt us, nothing wrong."

While the motive of scarcity can hardly be urged for the sanctity and sacrifice of fowls, the principle, if my conjecture is right, is exactly the same as that which makes for the sparing of the valuable pig. It is a religiously enforced abstinence for the sake of greater benefits. The importance of fowls in Dyak economy, even considering the selling price, is somewhat less than that of pigs. Hence the fowls are used in minor ceremonies, the pigs, or both together, in general rejoicings.

So much for the mere fact of sacrifice,—the killing and eating of the sacred animal. It is somewhat stretching the modern meaning of the word to call it a sacrifice at all, since only a tiny portion of the meat is given up to the gods, and the rest furnishes a merry feast. If we were to conform to strict logic rather than usage in diction, it might be more appropriate to term the period of fasting between occasions the sacrifice. The custom is, however, very much of a sacrifice in the etymological sense of the term, making sacred.

4. *Social purpose of the sacrifice the same as among totemists and herders, to secure community spirit.* We have noted the importance attached to giving a small portion of the meat to every-

³² This stanza is a long description of the various good things fed to domestic fowls.

one present. There is more in this than mere justice of distribution. For the meat is eaten as a sacred morsel, and this, together with the touching of each person with the blood, constitutes a magical doctoring, eagerly sought by every member of the tribe for the immunity to disease it is supposed to insure. The actual result of this communal character of the feast is to bind the worshippers closely together in a common experience of divine protection. Among a people such as the natives of Borneo, where the custom of blood-brotherhood obtains, the members of the tribe touched with the blood of the same sacred animal would have a strong feeling of fellowship and mutual obligation.

In tracing the origin of the Semitic sacrificial feast, Robertson Smith says that must be considered as having been from the first a public feast of clansmen. This is exactly what the farm sacrifices of the Land Dyaks are, tribal feasts endowed with religious significance. In the case of the Semites, this author points out that the act of eating and drinking with a man was a symbol and a confirmation of mutual obligations, and that in the sacrificial meal the idea was expressed that the god and his worshippers were commensals.³³ The Dyaks of Borneo are only less hospitable than the Semites, and hospitality carries with them the same obligations. It is not permitted to a Dyak to eat with an enemy, unless a reconciliation is desired. And as with the Semites, there is in the Dyak sacrament the same idea of the god as feasting together with the people. A portion for the gods invoked is put on the altar. And it consists not only of a bit of the flesh of the sacred animal, but of all the accompaniments eaten by the Dyaks, rice, fruit, and dainties.

Such feasting together of gods and clansmen when the sacred animal is killed is found not only among herders, like the Arabs, but among many totemistic hunting clans.

Why, we may ask, then, is not this form of animal sacrifice found among non-agricultural hunters of Borneo?³⁴ In the first place, the jungles are so full of game that periodic restrictions

³³ Pp. 279, 265, 269.

³⁴ Low speaks several times of the hospitality of the Land Dyaks. Cf. pp. 240, 243, 294; for eating together when peace is made with enemies, p. 213. Cf. also Roth, i, p. 72. For the Dyak idea of feasting with the gods, cf. descriptions referred to above, note 8.

on killing are hardly necessary. When occasionally the supply begins to lessen in one place the hunters simply move on to another, for Borneo is not so thickly populated that hostile claimants to hunting grounds restrict one another to any great extent to limited localities. And in the second place, still more important, the small game which they obtain with trap and blow-pipe does not require coöperation; hence they are not organized into clans. And clan spirit or the community spirit is one of the chief causes and products of sacramental feasts.³⁵

The same need of community spirit that exists among highly organized clans of hunters of big game, if lacking among the wandering tribes of Borneo, is strong in the agricultural communities of the Land Dyaks. Among big game hunters coöperation is necessary for the chase; among the Dyaks the men's clan must be organized for defence of farms and villages. Thus we have in both cases from different causes, the coherence of the virile clan. The Dyaks have, also, larger than the clan, the coöperative group of the entire tribe, men, women, and children, who work together on the farms, and these all take part in the feasts.

Just in so far as the Dyaks have the same conditions and the same needs as the totemistic hunting clans and nomadic herders, their custom of animal sacrifice is the same. The agricultural Land Dyaks have the same reasons for periodic slaughter of sacred animals and the social sacramental feast as have hunters and herders, viz., the preservation of a limited supply of a certain kind of animal food, and the securing of close fellowship and loyalty in the tribe. As the Dyak sacrifice, however, is connected with farming rites, the conception of the deities in whose honour the feast is held is signally different from that of the animal-worshipping hunters, or herders. With the latter the animal slain is mystically at the same time the god who feasts with them. In the Dyak feast higher gods than the sacred animals, the more abstract deities who preside over farming, are the spiritual guests.

VII.

The Gods Invoked.

A fair impression of the harvest feasts can scarcely be given without a few words about the gods in whose honour they are

³⁵ Furness, p. 175; St. John, i, p. 56.

held. But I shall say only enough to show their appropriateness to the occasion. For my present purpose is a study of the feasts on the side of ritual and custom rather than of mythology.

The Dyak pantheon is populous. And from the multitudinous spirits a few are singled out to be invited to each feast. Certain omen birds are invoked at house-building, others before taking a journey; at the head-feast following battle the tutelary spirits of war are implored to be present, and these same fierce Komang and Triu are asked for aid when traps are set in the jungle. When the site for the farms is to be chosen, the same birds who help fix the location of a new house are consulted. In the sacrifices that are made at the farms when accidents occur, it is the malignant spirits supposed to have caused the trouble who are propitiated with offerings.

With the exception of the taking of omens for the farms, and the appeasing of malicious demons with small rites, the spirits invoked at all the agricultural festivals belong to a higher class of deities than those who grace less pacific occasions. They are their "more powerful and good spirits," sometimes spoken of as the "rajahs of the spiritual world." The invocation at the three harvest feasts mentions particularly the following: the rajahs of the sun, moon and stars, the Sultan of Brunei, the English Rajah of Sarawak, and the great god Tuppa.³⁶

This Tuppa is the most powerful of the gods, to whom all lesser spirits are subordinated. He lives far off in the sky, whence he sends rain to make the rice grow, or destructive thunder and lightning in his anger. It is he who sends down the "soul of the rice." He has a pure and beneficent nature, and looks upon war with horror.³⁷ I have discussed more fully elsewhere the attributes of the god Tuppa.³⁸ It will be enough to note here that he is in general the patron of agriculture.

The other rajahs invoked are also deities whose concept has grown out of the farm life: the Sultan of Brunei, dreaded as a supernatural power because of his oppressive absorbing of all

³⁶ Rev. William Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216; Low, p. 251.

³⁷ Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 165-167; Low, pp. 249, 254.

³⁸ *Harvest Gods of the Land Dyaks*, JAOS., vol. xxvi (first half), pp. 165-175.

their wealth in grain; the English Rajah, their protector against his demands; and the sun, moon, and stars, revered for their benefits in ripening the grain and in determining the seasons.³⁹

The feasts are by no means logically deduced from the nature of the gods they celebrate. For we have seen that the agricultural festivals differ only in detail from the celebrations of other occasions; while between the gods of agriculture and the gods of the jungle there is a striking contrast. The agricultural feasts have grown out of many sides of Dyak life; but the gods of these feasts from only one,—from the experiences of farm life.

Not only are the agricultural patrons a deification of the powers of man and nature whose action affects the crops for weal or woe; but their character reflects the change in intellectual scope and ethical ideals which resulted from the Dyak's settled planting. The planning for a harvest long ahead with the adaptation of the forces of growth to their use, led to the idea on the part of the Dyaks of more ethereal divine powers, greater and farther removed than the jungle spirits; while the necessity of coöperation for farming, and of peace for trade, led to ethical standards in which hostility was replaced by benevolence. It is for these reasons that the gods invoked to the harvest feasts are the highest and farthest removed, and are peaceful and beneficent.

Such a radical change in religious ideals is not effected easily. And to this day the Dyaks are on much more intimate terms with their evil spirits than with the great gods to whom they "pay but little reverence" except at the feasts.⁴⁰

In this passing remark of Sir Hugh Low's we have a key to the relation of deities and ritual. It is not the deities which cause the ritual, but the ritual which cultivates the deities. When the sacred feast, which grew, as we have seen, from various needs, both material and mental, marked a stage in the farming season, it was made an occasion for worshipping the new gods of agriculture. The invocation, the sacrifice, the prayers to these beings proclaimed them to the people. Thus the agricultural festivals served to instill the ideals of the new order. Without them the old religious habit of fear and ferocity would be hardly broken up. The attitude of men to the unseen powers would be

³⁹ Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216.

⁴⁰ Low, p. 253.

still tricking malicious spirits or making them prayers and offerings to avert their wrath. The new and benevolent deities not only reflected, but in turn incited an attitude of good will. And while the higher conception of deity had its origin in developing conditions, it was fostered, and the social results of it were fostered, by the ritual observance.

VIII.

The Human Participants.

1. *Formation of the Land Dyak tribe.* In treating of the social influence of the festal sacrifice, we have noted that all present must partake of the flesh. And at the great tribal celebrations, foremost among which are the harvest festivals with which we are here concerned, those present include every man, woman and child in the village. The feasts are in the truest sense of the word communal. And thus they reflect the nature of the village group. If we examine more closely the personal assignment of various parts of the ritual, this also is found to be determined by the tribal organization.

The nature of the primitive tribe is at present a much mooted question. Without going into a discussion of general theories, or stopping to bring together comparisons with similar peoples, I shall try to give a brief statement of the actual composition of the Land Dyak tribe and the patent reasons for its form.

The word tribe, though used in several senses by writers on Borneo, usually denotes the village, that is a group of from fifty to two hundred families living together in the same longhouse, or in several houses close together.⁴¹

⁴¹ Cf. discussion by the present writer, JAOS., vol. xxv, 1904, p. 233, note.

The tribal unit among the Land Dyaks almost corresponds with the village, though not exactly. There are 21 tribes, living in 29 villages. (Chief Resident F. R. O. Maxwell gives 22 tribes; quoted by Roth, i. pp. 3-7.) If we ask more closely just what the tribal unit is, I think we shall find it to be the mountain. The Serambo tribe, for instance, consists of three villages on the same mountain. This mountain is unusually favorable to village sites, is well watered, and has abundance of fruit trees. As a rule there is only one village on each mountain.

The location of one or two tribes might seem at first to disprove the theory that the mountain is the tribal unit, for their villages are

These groups are found only among the settled peoples. The wild trappers of the interior have nothing that could fairly be called a tribe, though often several families make a camp together for mutual protection. But not until rice-planting demanded continual residence in one place do we find any real tribal organization.⁴²

There are several reasons why farming brought about the village community. In the first place, the river which affords easy access to distant fields was a good location for many families; in the second place, the preparatory clearing could be better done coöperatively; in the third place, the grain while standing would need to be defended against marauders, and for this defence the workers must be near to help one another.⁴³

scattered in widely separated sites. Where they retain the tribal name (e.g., the Sow tribe) this is found to be the name of the mountain which was the original tribal habitat, from which they have either been driven by hostile attack, or by poverty and desire for better farm land. When the tribe is thus broken up, unless the new villages are near enough together to coöperate, before long the tribal organization lapses, and each village becomes a new political unit, which will eventually take the name of its new locality (as the Lundu emigrants from the Serambo mountain have done), though for a while the settlers retain the name, affection, and customs of the old tribe. Such scattering has, I suppose, given rise to the idea prevalent among explorers that the tribe is based not upon locality, but upon consanguinity. What we really have here is a process of tribal disintegration and reformation.

The ethnographic division of Land Dyaks is coextensive with the characteristic environment, and the political unit, the tribe, corresponds to the geographic unit of the isolated hill.

Cf. Keppel, p. 341; Denison, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 4-5; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 206, 336; Low, p. 294; Brooke in Keppel, p. 299; Boyle, p. 62; St. John, i, pp. 10, 29.

⁴² Furness, p. 172; Crocker, *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 122, p. 8, quoted by Roth, i, p. 16; Brooke Low, manuscript notes, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 108.

⁴³ As we have seen, the peculiarity of the Land Dyak country which distinguishes it from parts of Sarawak occupied by other peoples, is the isolated defensible hill rising abruptly out of fertile farm land. The Land Dyaks not only grouped in villages for mutual defence, but when hard pressed they finally resorted to building their villages on these hills. The hills were at the same time the strength and the weakness of the country strategically. While their inaccessibility protected the village itself, the cultivated fruit trees around it, and the stored grain, it left at the mercy of enemies the standing crops at the base, and effectually isolated the villages, so that two tribes could not coöperate

These needs led to local grouping of a number of families. And the groups thus formed laid claim to the district they cultivated, defending their rights aggressively against new-comers. Dyak land tenure is traditionally based on the felling of primæval jungle, the tribe which first cultivated a tract of land being considered as owner of it thereafter.

Only a small part of the claim is in actual cultivation each season, on account of the custom of allowing land to lie fallow for several years between crops. The farm site each year is chosen by the "elders," the old and experienced men of the tribe, who are good judges of the readiness of land for use. These men, too, are the only ones who know the exact extent of their district, a knowledge which requires keen observation and good memory in the swift-growing, mark-obliterating jungle. From their important functions the elders have gained respect, and have become the rulers and regulators of internal affairs.⁴⁴

They would be all-sufficient were there no external difficulties to cope with. But as old jungle is greatly preferred to the newer growths on recently cleared lands, ambitious groups are constantly migrating in search of fresh farming land, coming in contact with other tribes, and thus starting long feuds. The clash of tribes has instituted the military clan within the agricultural community. It is naturally composed of the strong young men, and is led by a fighting chief, distinct from the paternal head of the village.⁴⁵

for mutual protection. It is to this weakness of separation, I believe, as contrasted with the advantages for alliance of the position of the various Sea Dyak tribes on their great navigable streams, that we must attribute the constant reverses of the Land Dyaks, and the military dominance of their well-organized neighbours.

⁴⁴ Grant, p. 28, quoted by Roth, i. p. 397; St. John, i. p. 203; Brooke in Mundy, i. p. 211; Houghton, *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*, iii, p. 200. "Every old man of a tribe knows the exact extent of its district." Low, p. 319.

⁴⁵ Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, i, p. 48, quoted by Roth, i. p. 2. The village chief is said by Brooke to hold his power by wealth and talents, Keppel, p. 188; by Low, pp. 288-9, to be elected by the people "on account of the wisdom and ability he displays in the councils of the tribe." Besides the village chiefs are Panglimas, fighting chiefs, "raised to their position on account of courage and ability in war."

When the men are called upon to go off on the war-path, the farm work is left more and more to the women, and they receive the consideration and homage due to the chief providers of subsistence. The proud warrior never scorns the commissariat. And this is why the Dyak wife is a much more influential person than the squaw who must look to her hunting brave for buffalo meat.

The method of farming and the need of defence have thus brought about a dual organization of the Land Dyak tribe. There is the whole community, men, women, and children, forming a coöperative farming alliance presided over by elders, and the fighting men, who are at times subservient members of the agricultural group, at times form a free, dominant warrior-clan.⁴⁶

Of comparatively recent date, I believe, is the introduction of private property in land, with the consequent isolation of families and inequalities of rank and condition. Originally as there was more land than they could cultivate, there was no reason for private monopolization. Private property first grew up in some places with a natural advantage of situation. In tribes that had been driven to hills at some distance from a river, or that lived on mountain streams too swift for canoes, the labor of carrying rice home from a distant farm was tremendous. As the supply of rice was limited only by the limit of labor, the families who worked on the nearer farms would have a great advantage over the others. In such tribes property near the village came to be divided into small plots owned separately.⁴⁷

Were the Dyaks isolated, there would be little need of monopoly of the best land, or desire for many children to increase the family labor force. For in this very fertile country enough rice for

⁴⁶ Low, pp. 304, 227, 229, 230; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, i, p. 402; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i, p. 409; Houghton, MAS., quoted by Roth, i, p. 48; Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, i, p. 144, quoted by Roth, i, p. 106; St. John, i, p. 176.

⁴⁷ Low, pp. 319-20. I have not been able to find any definite information about the apportionment of distant lands, nor certainly whether any Land Dyak tribe has changed all the communal claim into private property. The more complete system of private property in land which has grown up among the Sea Dyaks is due to the fact that their output is not limited by their own labor force, because of the introduction of slave labor through piracy. Hence we have among these coast dwellers a more advanced land monopolization and the beginning of rent.

their own consumption would be easily grown. But the Malay trade offers a market for all they can produce. Hence the family who by greater command of land and labor can accumulate a large store of grain, can gain by exchange many luxuries, ornaments, and foreign objects which will make them honoured and envied by all their neighbours.

With this opportunity of increasing wealth by trade, and the consequent motive for monopolizing land, the family has been emphasized as the unit in producing rice. The family rather than the individual is the unit because it takes all the members, men, women and children, to do the farm work, and land ownership has not yet brought about such inequalities that one man can command the labor of a number of others on his farm.⁴⁸ There is thus an economic family group for agricultural production within the communal group. Communal coöperation still obtains to this extent,—in that the decision as to which of the several farms belonging to a family shall be used each season is made by the village chief and his council of elders, in order that the same paths may lead to all the fields in use; and in that every man of the village joins in the work of making the common paths, and clearing the jungle from the whole district to be planted. After this has been done, agriculture becomes strictly a family affair. The families work on their farms, bring home their own harvests, and live on their own crops, or the proceeds of their sale.⁴⁹

The family group, which is emphasized by the growing system of land tenure, is the more easily brought out because as an

⁴⁸The Land Dyaks do not practice piracy, and hence do not have slaves as do the Sea Dyaks. But for a while there grew up to a slight extent a system of slave-debtors. Families whose supply of rice had given out, because of a scarce season, or because of imprudent sales to the Malays, borrowed from those who had larger stores. And if they were unable to pay the debt, they would live for a while in the house of their creditors and work on their farms. But in the mean time they were not ill-used and enjoyed full personal liberty. Even this mild form of slavery, however, has died out in consequence of European influence. Low, pp. 247, 301, 302, 303.

⁴⁹Low, pp. 225, 232, 296, 303; Wallace, i. p. 144, quoted by Roth, i. p. 105; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i. p. 397. The chief is the only person who ordinarily receives assistance from others than members of his own family in preparing his farms. Each family of the village contributes a small amount of work to the chief's farm, and this is one of his most valuable perquisites. St. John, i. p. 167; Low, p. 289.

economic unit it goes back to pre-communal times, when the ancestors of the Land Dyaks roamed about in groups of parents and children, living from hand to mouth; and as a social unit the family necessarily persisted all through the communism. Its present form, which holds together the members of several generations, is undoubtedly due to the necessity of having so many laborers on each farm.⁵⁰

The Land Dyak tribe has thus finally come to be composed of three groups, the membership of which overlaps. There is first the inclusive village, the agricultural community, living together for convenience and coöperation; next the men's clan, organized primarily for defence and conquest, but also working together in their corporate capacity upon public tasks that demand strength, such as house-building, path-building,⁵¹ and clearing the jungle; and finally the family, consisting of several generations, the members of which live together, hold property in common, and coöperate in producing to supply the family needs.

2. *The religious organization.* It is a recognition of the ancient communism and the still existing need for coherence of the tribe that the whole village participates in each harvest feast. For this same reason, at the mid-harvest "Man Sawa," and at the final celebration, the "soul of the rice" is secured first in the longroom, or on the common verandah of the village. Afterwards, as we have seen, recognizing the lesser agricultural group, the same ceremony is repeated in each family apartment. There is, naturally, at these peaceful feasts, no particular recognition of the warrior clan as such.

⁵⁰ I have not stopped to go into a thorough analysis of the "family," and the reckoning of descent, inheritance, etc. But it may add to clearness to note in passing that the group who work on the farm, and live together in the family apartment, consists generally of three generations with all the "in-laws." A married man usually lives with his wife's family, but the reverse is often the case. Cf. St. John, i. pp. 175-6, 142, 172, 62; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i. p. 348; Houghton, MAS., iii, p. 200.

⁵¹ The work of path-building is sufficiently important to occasion a particular feast, called the *Makan Tuan*, which according to Low somewhat resembles the harvest home. Before it can be held all the men of the tribe must assist in putting the paths around the village in order. Low, p. 288.

The village chief, as head of the rice-growing community, is honoured at all harvest feasts by having the altar placed just outside his door. The elders, skilled in farm lore, and the women, the chief workers, have, as one would expect, important functions in the celebrations. The young warriors take no conspicuous part in these peaceful affairs, but content themselves with performing a continuous accompaniment to the dances on drums and gongs, instruments ordinarily kept in the bachelors' sleeping apartment and used to warn the tribe of an enemy's approach. Though they share in the agricultural festivities, as they lend a hand to the heavy farm work, their duties in it are still in the line of their warlike specialties.⁵²

As is appropriate, the ritual is conducted by the elders and priests (of which latter I shall have more to say shortly) and by the priestesses. The details of the parts taken by each of these are significant enough to merit further attention.

At the harvest feasts, in the continuous dancing and chanting, the performers are the elders and priestesses. They dance together, or they dance in turn, some winding in silent procession or absorbed in chanting while the others are in wild measure. It all no doubt has some particular meaning if one could but get a copious account of it. The meaning of the participants is clear. If there is a supernatural value in the dance, to bring blessings to the farm, who better fitted to obtain this than the women who plant, the elders whose counsel guides the work?

3. *The origin of the order of priestesses in the women's agriculture.* Not all the women of a tribe are full-fledged priestesses and take part in the dance. The larger part of them sit and admire while their superior sisters act. That the caste is closely connected with the feminine prerogative is shown by the fact that, according to one writer, nearly all, according to another, more than half of the women of the tribe, are enrolled in this sisterhood. It is a sort of freemasonry of farmers, with mystic initiation rites supposed to preserve the members from personal disaster, and with secret spells that make for the growth of the rice. Many are initiated, but few reach the proficiency in hereditary lore and incantations to permit them to hold the position of

⁵² St. John, i, p. 179.

accomplished "barich," skilled to cure sickness, to "doctor" the padi, to take part in the dances and to perform the ceremonies of initiation into their number which take place at the harvest home.⁵³

Stories of the supernatural origin of the sacred order of "barich" differ slightly in detail among the tribes. But they agree in this;—that it was Tuppa-Jang, or Jang (a distinctly agricultural deity) who in affectionate kindness founded the order, gave them their insignia of office, and taught them the miraculous incantations, handed down through many generations, which make the padi grow and flourish.

Chalmers has given two versions of the story as he heard it among the Sentahs, and among the Peninjauahs, Land Dyak tribes of different river basins. Historically speaking, there is undoubtedly much more fiction than fact in them. But they are important as showing how historical tradition is reasoned back from contemporary fact.⁵⁴

The Sentah story runs as follows: Once two female children were very ill, and not being expected to live, they were put into a pig trough and floated down the river to the sea. But Jang, who lives on Mount Santubong, the great hill that stands at the westerly mouth where their river flows into the sea, took pity on the little girls and carried them up to his dwelling as they floated by. He made them well, and taught them the art of medicine. "Their knowledge being complete, he gave them the name of 'barich,' and sent them back to their village to become the benefactors of their race. Of these two girls the present women doctors are the lineal descendants."

According to the Peninjauah tale, it used to be the custom to burn the sick on funeral pyres. Tuppa once took pity on an old woman who was to undergo this hard fate, and miraculously lifted her from the pyre to his dwelling. There he taught her medicine and sent her home. She returned at first invisible and

⁵³ St. John, i, p. 210; Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 260, 414; S. Mueller, quoted by Roth, i, p. 263; Houghton, MAS., iii, p. 197.

⁵⁴ Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 310-311; cf. also the version of Chalmers's companion, Sir Spencer St. John, as given in *Forests of the Far East*, i, p. 211.

helped her husband, who was working in the field. "He was making the seed-holes, preparatory to planting the rice which was lying near, and his wife (still invisible) began to do the work which is usually done by Dyak women, viz., to follow the movements of the hole-maker and put the seed-corn into the holes which he has prepared for it. Her husband, thinking himself alone, returned to do this part of the work himself. What was his surprise to find it already completed for him! But he went away again to the process of hole-making, his wife following him and putting in the seed as before. When he returned to do it himself, and found the holes planted and filled, he could no longer restrain his amazement; and half angry, half frightened, he cried, 'Whoever has done this let him appear!' No sooner were these words uttered than his wife was manifested to his astonished gaze, clad in all the paraphernalia of a 'barich'. . . . Before she died she instructed many in the mysteries and songs she had learned from Tuppa-Jing; her disciples in turn instructed others, and thus they have come down to the present time—and to refuse to make use of them would be death and destruction to mankind and the paddy."

Both these stories point to a change at some past time in the treatment of the sick. With developing prosperity it became possible to care for them. And it began to be believed that they might return to health and become once more useful members of the community.

Probably they were first cared for by the women. It is an interesting point in these stories that in both cases it was women who learned the divine art of healing, and thus rescued sufferers from the death penalty. As far as it goes, this is corroborative of the somewhat inconclusive evidence which points to the fact that among several peoples of Borneo the doctor-priesthood was originally made up of women only.⁵⁵

If this is a true inference from the tales, times have changed among the Land Dyaks. For now the men skilled in incantations are supposed to have greater power over the malignant spirits of illness than the women, and receive larger fees from the patient; while the women, who are more exclusively devoted to agricul-

⁵⁵ Cf. discussion by present writer, JAOS., vol. xxv. p. 241.

tural pursuits, have come to be regarded as specially powerful in doctoring the padi.⁵⁶

The men's doctoring and the women's doctoring are two absolutely distinct arts handed down in different lines. So that these stories are still true to fact in stating that the magic formulae of the "barich" are passed from the older to the younger women.

The points in common in the stories,—the original doctorship of women, the supernatural origin of a really skillful and important caste, and the patronage of this order, whose chief function is care of the padi, by the harvest god—all these common elements are the natural reflection in fable of conditions that belong alike to all Land Dyak tribes. The differences are strikingly local.

The Peninjauahs, who live in the very center of what was once the Hindu-Javan empire in Borneo, burn the dead of all classes.⁵⁷ It is not at all improbable that, as the story relates, they once treated their desperately ill as if they were dead and burned them also. When Mr. Chalmers told the Peninjauah version to a Sentah "historian," he was shocked and utterly denied that they had ever had such a cruel custom as that of burning the sick. He said they used to expose them in the jungle and leave them to their fate. Now this is exactly the way the Sentahs dispose of their dead of the poorer and lower classes. They simply wrap the body in a mat and throw it out into the jungle. Their district was once the outlying fringe of Hindu-Javan dominion. And the foreign custom of burning the dead has been retained only among the higher classes. Some peoples who live beyond the Sentahs, farther up the coast, place the body of the deceased in a canoe and let it drift out to sea.⁵⁸ This custom of using a canoe as a coffin is by no means unknown among the Land Dyaks.⁵⁹ I have no definite proof that the Sentahs ever embarked their dead for the journey seaward, as the sick children in the story were sent off; but at least we have in their varied methods of disposing of the dead a reason why the funeral pyre,

⁵⁶ Cf. authorities cited above, note 53.

⁵⁷ Low, pp. 93, 174, 265, 268; St. John, i, p. 173; Denison, pp. 14, 87, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 135-136; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 204, 295.

⁵⁸ Milanaus. Cf. Mrs. McDougall, p. 163, quoted by Roth, i, p. 145.

⁵⁹ Grant, p. 66, quoted by Roth, i, p. 149.

universal among Peninjuahs, did not necessarily appear in the Sentah version.

If we should follow the branch stream on which the landing place of the Sentahs is located, through its many windings as the current would drift a canoe, we enter some miles down the main water of the Sarawak, and before we reach the sea must pass close to the foot of Mount Santubong at the river's mouth. It is an abrupt, impressive, isolated hill, fit residence for the great god Jang. From this eminence he could not fail to see the two little girls being carried out by the inexorable current. In the Peninjuah story the god is not so definitely located. We are told simply that he takes the woman "up" to his dwelling, which is like a large, well-equipped Dyak house.⁶⁰

It may be over-literal, and an attempt to push detailed explanations too far, to ask why the first Peninjuah "barich" was a mature woman, and the Sentah heroines were two little girls. But it is suggestive to my mind that in the accounts of division of agricultural labor among the Sentahs there are distinct tasks assigned to the children. They have to work all day on the farm with their elders, except when they are sent off into the jungle to gather fruit on the way home. Child-labor is not said to be peculiar to the Sentahs, but they are the only tribe of whom so definite an account of children's work is given. And as the Sentahs' labor force was tremendously reduced by ravages of Arab chiefs in their neighborhood, which diminished this tribe to about one fifth its original numbers, the Sentahs would have more need than more populous tribes to call upon the children's assistance. Thus naturally the children would have a noticeable and intimate part in the tribal life, and it would not be out of place for them to figure conspicuously in legendary lore. The Peninjuah old woman is quite the natural founder of the order

⁶⁰ The Sentahs, or Sintahs, are sometimes called Quop, from the name of the river which flows near their mountain, and on which they have their landing place. This river flows into the Sarawak about eight miles below the town. The Peninjuahs live near the west branch of the Sarawak, but very much farther from the mouth of the main river, though the peak of Santubong is visible in the distance from their mountain (Serambo), which is 1,700 feet high. Low, p. 299; Maxwell, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 4-6; Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 133 ff., quoted by Roth, i, p. 311; St. John, i, pp. 163-165.

of "barich." The deification of two little girls seems to demand some special explanation in a country where age is given all reverence.⁶¹

With the differences I have noted, the two tales are really very much alike. It may be that at some time in the distant past the Land Dyaks lived all together and told a common legend, which, when they separated, has been modified by each in accordance with local conditions. Or it is quite possible, since the common elements in the stories are coincident with the similarity of life of the two tribes, that they have grown up quite separately. In either case, they show a mingling of reasonings from present needs, vague memories of the past, and local colour; all welded together and accepted as true history.

What is the actual history of the order may long be in doubt. It evidently is most closely connected with agriculture. The magic power over the crops, the fact that the sisterhood includes nearly all women, who are the chief farm workers, and the patronage of the harvest god, point strongly to this conclusion. And it is the priestesses who bless the seed before it is planted, and who file in solemn procession to cut the first fruits, before the harvest may be gathered.⁶²

Among many primitive peoples agriculture was originated by the women and was for a long while their peculiar province. I do not think that this was its history in Borneo. Agriculture that begins in that way is more apt to be the cultivation of yams and various tubers, which the women have been accustomed to dig while the men hunt. Rice seems to have been an importation into Borneo, and probably the methods of cultivating it, with the seed, were introduced by some people of higher attainments than the Dyaks. Nor could the women alone have first acquired this foreign knowledge, for in the massive jungle there is much heavy work necessary to farming which can only be done by men.

If not the originators of agriculture, nor even at first sole devotees of the pursuit, the Dyak women have done the greatest part of it. While the men work hard at certain times on the

⁶¹ F. W. Abe, *Gospel Mission*, May 1st, 1863, p. 77, quoted by Roth, i, p. 405; Brooke in Keppel, p. 187.

⁶² St. John, i, pp. 190-194.

farms, the women labor steadily throughout the season. And no doubt in their own portion of the labor, in which planting, weeding, and reaping are important, they have acquired a special skill and instinctive knowledge, which is handed down from one generation to another. This I believe to be the solid foundation of the order of "barich," upon which is built up much mystical superstition.

4. *The elders ritual part comes by virtue of their farm lore.* As the priestesses have, besides the general weird dances and incantations, their peculiar duties in the agricultural ritual, so the elders have their special province, the privilege of supernatural wisdom. It is not to be supposed that when the old men of the tribe were given authority to choose the farming sites for all, that this was a deliberate acknowledgment of their superior judgment and memory. The elders claimed, and believed, that they were guided by special revelation vouchsafed in omens which they alone could interpret. The claim being granted by the people to the extent of acting according to the elders' instructions, was corroborated by success. The appropriate part now taken by the elders at all the farming feasts is consulting the omen birds.

They perform this rite first before felling the jungle, when the site of the farms is chosen. A small shed is erected in the forest. Offerings of food are taken to the hut. An elder invokes the spiritual powers and casts yellow rice in all directions. If a bird twitters in front and then flies toward the village, good. If a bird alights near the hut and then twitters, "evil and sickness await those who build or farm near, for many spirits have made that their dwelling place."⁶³ I notice that the elder goes out alone, and that he alone reports what he has seen; that the jungle is full of birds; that the experience of travelers with Dyak guides is that authoritative omens and dreams are constantly corroborating their pre-formed judgment; and I have a sceptical suspicion that the elder's own good sense has more to do with fixing the site of the farm than the actions of friendly birds.

Since the elders can interpret the omens for farming, it is only reasonable that they should be credited with insight into the meaning of other portents. Thus at the *Nyishupen*, in the

⁶³ St. John, i, p. 203.

general doctoring of the harvest home it is the elders who are given cocoanuts to cut, that the gushing out of the liquid may foretell the owners' fortune for the coming year.⁶⁴

The third festival prerogative of the elders also follows naturally from taking the farm omens. Those who interpret the omen message from above are appropriately chosen for the important duty of repeating the invocation to Tuppa, the harvest god.⁶⁵

5. *The priests a special class.* The "priests" alluded to by several authors I at first took to be identical with the elders. But they are evidently not the same, as one description tells of securing the "soul of the rice" in a ceremony performed by "priests, elders, and priestesses."⁶⁶

The elders have a political position as members of the tribal council; the priests belong to a distinct profession. As a rule, there is little specialized skill among the Dyaks. Each man is his own farmer, hunter, carpenter, weapon-maker, etc. But with development three specialties have grown up. In every village there is a blacksmith who does nothing but forge iron weapons for the whole community, a sexton, who is supported by fees for burning or burying the dead, and about six "doctors" or "priests," who live by the rice and pigs they receive from their patients in return for magical cures, and from each family, at harvest time, for securing the "soul of the rice." As we have seen, the priestesses are also called in for curing but they receive lesser fees, and this is only an incidental interruption of their daily labor, while to the "priests" or "Daya Beruri" it is their livelihood. The priesthood is frequently hereditary. But like the other specialties it must have supernatural sanction. No one dares to become a doctor or a blacksmith until he has been specially "called" to it in a dream, while the office of sexton, most dangerous of all, requires all sorts of supernatural protection.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ St. John, i. p. 195; Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i. p. 414.

⁶⁵ Chalmers in Grant, p. 128, quoted by Roth, i. p. 216.

⁶⁶ St. John, i. p. 194.

⁶⁷ St. John, i. pp. 174, 192, 200, 210-212; Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i. pp. 413 and 260; Denison, p. 87, quoted by Roth, i. p. 136.

One can readily see how spiritual sanction might be necessary to overcome timidity which would hinder a man from giving up visible produce of the farm and traditional means of support to trust to the uncertainty of fees. There is also to be taken into consideration the vague terror of a spirit world to which all mysterious misfortune is attributed, and which is too closely approached by the magic doctor and the handler of corpses, to make these professions possible without some guarantee of safety. Yet why should the blacksmith feel this? I imagine that in all the basic fear comes from cutting loose from the common toil. The needs of the tribe evidently led to establishing the offices of blacksmith and sexton. Less apparent, however, are the services of the doctors.

The Dyak theory of sickness is that it is caused by the absence of the soul from the body, or by the invasion of malignant demons. And the function of the priest consists in performing magical ceremonies to persuade the soul to return, or to drive out the intruders. According to descriptions given, the treatment is enough to kill a European sufferer, but doubtless the patients who believe in it derive some benefit.

The priests' duty at the last two agricultural feasts is to secure the "soul of the rice" (which Tuppa sends down) in much the same way as they secure the soul of a sick man. And for this service they receive three cups full of rice from each family. Whether this is merely an extension of their doctoral functions, due to the theory that plants as well as men have souls and need to be treated in the same way, or whether it points to some historical connection on the part of the priests with the art of rice-culture, is hard to tell from the fragmentary information available.

We know the supposed powers of the medicine men, for which they receive compensation. May it not be that like the sexton and the blacksmith their profession has a real utility? They may, like the medicine men of the American Indians, be the thinkers and directors, set apart from active life to preserve and augment useful traditions. Or they may have an economic position unfamiliar, and peculiarly Dyak. But unfortunately the

only really definite conclusion we can come to on this subject is that we need more information.⁶⁸

6. *Sanction of the social order.* Setting aside then, the part of the doctor-priests in the harvest festivities, to await more knowledge of facts, we may sum up the significance of the rest of the personnel. The entire agricultural community, as we have seen, being the complete unit of production, takes an active part in the celebration; the lesser economic unit within this, the family, is also asserted; the community chief is honoured by the position of the center of the ritual, the altar; while the main producers of rice, the women, and the most skilled in agricultural lore, the elders, are conspicuous in the pageantry. Throughout, the organization of the feast reflects and fosters the social order best adapted to the Dyak local conditions and method of cultivation.

It is interesting and important to note in the harvest ritual, as in nearly all Dyak custom, the exaltation of age. The only occasions which put a premium on youth and strength are the warriors' head-feasts. Wisdom and white hairs find reverence at the rest. And this is undoubtedly because of the weight of tradition, which seeking no advantage of progressive methods, finds most profitable skill in memory and experience. Without written records, the profit of the past is all in the storehouse of the elder mind. And so great is the respect for this handing down of memories that a new custom which some new condition calls for has little adherence until it is referred to the past and seems to acquire ancestral sanction.

⁶⁸ Chalmers in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 260-261: *ibid.*, p. 9, quoted by Roth, i, p. 263; St. John, i, p. 190.

Mr. La Flesche of the Indian Bureau deprecates the popular idea of the medicine-man as mere magic healer, which he says has originated in the white man's observation of the "quacks" of the tribe. The official medicine-man was more than this. He must not be a warrior, but it was he who called the war-council; he watched the sky and directed the tribal doings according to season; he taught his successor, usually choosing his own son, but only if worthy. In all things useful the medicine-men preserved oral traditions, and handed down knowledge from one generation to another.

IX.

The Ritual Symbolism.

1. *How far we can understand it.* Can we trace, also, in every detail of the ritual as in the broad outlines of the ceremonies, the influence of local conditions? It might be possible, did we know each shade of varying circumstance through which the Dyaks have passed in the last millenium; and could we make our minds like theirs and interpret accurately the occult language of chants, the emotions conveyed by each rhythmic movement, and the intricate symbolism of colours and flowers. Could we do all this our knowledge would be more than human. And far from omniscience there is only available a fragment of fact. We have a fair survey of the surroundings in which the Dyaks were placed at one period of their career, and what they made of them, with a hint of their former history; on the ritual side, we have, to compare with this, incomplete accounts of the ceremony by men of an alien race, not thoroughly at home with the language or mode of thought of these children of the forest. From such sources we shall be chary of accepting uncritically interpretations that may be coloured by the spectator's prejudice; and shall reject entirely as inadmissible evidence any second-hand information. What is left may seem small material indeed. But it is something. While we may hesitate to place implicit faith in an Englishman's interpretation of Dyak meanings, we can at least rely upon the word of a scientist when he says that at this feast he saw them use a white fowl; at that a dark one; that the altar was put in such a position, and was constructed of such and such materials. Putting undoubted details of the feast side by side with known economic facts, inferences appear as striking as they are inevitable. They are enough to hint that were our information more complete, still closer intimacy of religious symbolism with the desires of men would be revealed.

To give a fair estimate within the prescribed limits is no easy matter. Our task is to scrutinize factors and at the same time keep the whole poetry. For the mood of ritual is never that of prose. Our enquiry demands the sympathetic attitude, such sympathy as cannot persist between bare scientific analysis and the elusive suggestions of mystic symbolism.

2. *The advantage of symbols to communicate religious ideas.* By the picturesque suggestion of symbols, subtle emotions are transferred from one being to another. The purpose of all dances, pageants, and arts, according to a recent writer on human relationships, is in the desire of man to escape from the isolation of individuality, to set forth his state of mind to his fellows.⁶⁹ Words, mere words, are to the savage even more than to us inadequate. As the mental processes become more complex and the language richer, persuasion may partially replace pageant. But the early religionists used largely object language.

They created in their ceremonials an atmosphere of intense excitement, in which their minds were sensitive to every impression of ritual detail. They worked themselves up to a fine frenzy by the rhythmic beat of drums and gongs; subdued and mysterious for a while, then faster and faster, growing deafening and frantic. And if this were not enough, monotonous chants were sounded in the vague cadences of an unfamiliar tongue.⁷⁰ Long, solemn processions of sacred men and women winding slowly in and out appealed to the eye as the sounds to the ear. With the quickening of drums and chants, the grave movement became a dance. Faster and faster, wilder and wilder, the gaily-dressed throng whirled about the apartment, till the priestesses, distracted and exhausted, fell senseless into the arms of their sisters. All through the day, at the great feasts, this continued at intervals, and at night the weird effect was heightened by the flash of tapers.⁷¹

3. *Objects and colours.* The dances in themselves all had a meaning. There were mimic shows appropriate to each occasion. By the character of dance a religious purpose was served, as well

⁶⁹ Nathaniel Shaler, *The Neighbour*, p. 206.

⁷⁰ Foreigners who have attended the feasts agree that the language of the incantations is not the ordinary speech of the Dyaks, and is not generally understood. But they differ as to the origin of the sacred language. Low says that its apparent difference from the ordinary speech is "to be accounted for by the peculiar intonation they give to the syllables when using them in their prayers" (p. 252). St. John thinks it may be some Indian speech (i, p. 159). Others have reported the language to be Malay.

⁷¹ Cf. descriptions of the feasts referred to above, note 8.

as by the general sensitiveness it aroused to accompanying symbolism.⁷²

Colour, at the feasts of peace and plenty, celebrating the farming year, is arranged to be in harmony with the spirit of the time. Only white fowls may then be victims; white cloths hang about the altar; in a white cloth only is it possible to secure the soul of the rice. White is throughout Borneo the symbol of peace and good will, a recognized flag of truce, where red is the challenge of war.⁷³

Objects used symbolically at these times are things on which they put great value. There is an association with them all of joyousness and prosperity. Gold dust, the most valuable thing they know, is secured for the feast with the white cloth. This planted in the fields secures plentiful harvest, especially if it has been blessed by the wealth-bringing English. Yellow, the colour of gold, and of the ripe heads of grain, is second only in importance to white. Rice that is scattered to the gods is first coloured yellow, and yellow bamboos are planted about the outdoor altar. Bamboo plays an important part in this object language. It is essential that the altar be made of it; at the mid-harvest feast a feathery head of this loved plant is hung up outside each family apartment.

The bamboo is justly an object for regard, for it gives the Dyaks no small service. It grows luxuriantly, in height often exceeding sixty feet. Of it their houses are largely built, their paths, aqueducts and bridges made, as well as the railings that keep destructive animals away from the farms. It also furnishes them with water-jars, and various domestic utensils.⁷⁴

Two other trees of local importance have a ceremonial use. They are the betel-nut and the cocoanut. Of betel-nut wood are made the wands of which are the insignia alike of priests and priestesses. Cocoanuts as we have seen are used in the special doctoring of the harvest home; and cocoanut water is one of the valuable ingredients of the mixture used in the general tribal

⁷² Cf. above, note 16.

⁷³ St. John, i, pp. 155, 193; Brooke in Mundy, ii, pp. 42-43; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 193-4.

⁷⁴ St. John, i, p. 146; Low, p. 263; Grant, p. 12, quoted by Roth, i, p. 215.

doctoring. In this same fluid is dipped the fertilizing gold dust to be planted in the fields, as also the heads of corn placed over the altar. Both the cocoanut and the betel-nut are, like the bamboo, highly valued trees. They are planted and carefully cultivated on the hill-top near the villages. The cocoanut is a favorite food. The betel-nut affords the daily indispensable stimulant.⁷⁵

Further symbols of plenty are branches of the waving corn itself placed over the altar at the gathering of first fruits, and the salvers of rice carried by priests and priestesses in the mid-harvest feast.⁷⁶

Thus for the joyous feasts of agriculture, the prescribed symbolic objects and colours are those suggestive of peace and plenty:—of peace, as the peaceful gods were invoked, because no thought of war must rasp their minds when the harvest calls for laborers and they must learn the hard lesson of quiet toil; of plenty and all valuable things to foster faith in the happy outcome, and because of the association of ideas by mood, which has made them ascribe to all good things an efficiency for welfare beyond the particular wants they satisfy.

Things of general value, not especially connected with farming, are carried in the harvest dances by the priests. They are the tusks of wild boars, the teeth of bears (rare animals whose fur is valued in some tribes for war-coats), and beads, the universal desideratum. Beads also fill an important place in the gay official dress of the priestesses. Their caps are beaded, and they wear necklaces of black and white beads.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Low, p. 294; Grant, p. 56, quoted by Roth, i, p. 359; Chalmers in Grant, pp. 106–125, quoted by Roth, i, p. 414; cf. also accounts of ceremonies referred to above, note 8.

Two sacred flowers are indissolubly associated with the process of farming. If we knew more about them some interesting significance might appear. They are the areca-palm blossom, which decorates the altar at the gathering of first fruits, and is waved over the planted seed by the priestesses; and the *Sekedip*, a flower which they say was given by Tuppa with the rice seed, and which is always planted with the crop and then dug up again at harvest time to be carefully treasured until the next season. Cf. Denison, p. 88, quoted by Roth, i, p. 417.

⁷⁶ St. John, i, p. 192; Chalmers in Grant, quoted by Roth, i, p. 310.

⁷⁷ Denison, ch. v and viii; St. John, i, p. 192; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 260, 310.

The further symbolism of the priestesses' dress is most curious. For it consists of the men's insignia of war. Their mantle is of red cloth; the gay petticoat, hung with hundreds of tinkling hawkbells, is ornamented with the men's tokens of victory, feathers of sacred birds, and human hair. This is like the Kayan custom, when at their harvest feasts the women wear men's clothes and go through a war-dance with swords and shields. Does it signify that the women's work of planting now takes the place of the warrior's prerogative?⁷⁸

4. *Position of the altar.* Emblematic meaning is more easily perceived by the uninitiated outsider in some parts of the ritual than in others. The position of the altar, for instance, has a reason patent at a glance. At offerings made for the farm by single families, while the grain is growing, the bamboo structure is placed on the roadside leading to the cultivated plot, or for more dire need, in the midst of the field itself. Toward the end of the season the whole countryside becomes dotted with these altars. Should a tree fall across the farm path, or a dead animal be found on the field, or any other terrible portent occur, the averting sacrifice must be held on the unlucky spot. And naturally, when taking the omens to determine the part of the jungle to fell for planting, the altar is erected in the proposed position, which the birds then condemn or approve.

From such local exactness the altar is removed in communal feasts to a place of larger significance, as when at the sacrifice to avert the sad results of paying the government rice-tax, the altar is placed at the entrance of the village, where as a tribe they communicate with the outside world; or when in the first part of the Man Sawa it is placed by the common road that leads to all the farms, or on the hill-top under the village fruit trees, and later, as in the other harvest feasts, is erected in the public hall of the village outside the door of the village chief.⁷⁹

Its position always tells a tale. It stands as if it said "I am here to show why this feast is occasioned, to teach you children and unlearned of the people what is the meaning of the rite."

⁷⁸ Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 163.

⁷⁹ Cf. descriptions of feasts referred to above, note 8.

Conclusion. When freedom from ordinary cares has been secured by the taboo, and gongs, drums, and dances have aroused the minds to a pitch of excited receptivity, each symbolic detail of the ritual stamps its idea. The nature and habits of the gods that preside over farming, and the attitude that man must take toward them, are taught in object language. If the mere desire to impart moods was efficient to create pageants and arts, the importance of those is immeasurably increased when they become the vehicle for preserving the religious sentiments necessary for the coherence and welfare of the tribe.

All parts of the feast work together to foster the tribal faith. But all have not a common origin. To explain the agricultural series of festivities we have had to advert to almost every phase of Dyak life. Into the shaping of the ritual have entered the seasons and the weather; the necessity for settled life and monotonous toil; deep-rooted habits of periodic idleness and debauchery; the limitation of the supply of certain animals; the need for communal spirit in the farm life, and for subservience to those fitted to lead; dread of the oppression of the Malays, gratitude to the friendly power of Rajah Brooke; the advantages of greater frugality and industry introduced by the opportunities of foreign trade; and, finally, the development of intellect and character produced by the change from the wild jungle life to settled farming, which has placed above the old malignant spirits of the wood a group of higher beneficent gods, to whose honour all these feasts are accredited.

Notes on the Making of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Siam.—

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THERE is no more common sight in any of the temples or "wats" in Bangkok, or indeed in any part of Siam, than that of one or more Buddhist students or priests squatting on the floor of the balcony of their houses and engaged more or less busily in preparing palm-leaf manuscripts of some of the sacred books of Siam.

Printing has of late years made a little headway in displacing hand work for the reproduction of the sacred books of the priests, but it is still looked upon with some disfavor by the more conservative members of the priesthood, and is moreover much more expensive than the writing on palm leaves, which costs nothing at all unless it be a great deal of time. Of that, however, Siamese, like other Buddhist priests, have a great deal to spare.

A few words on the method and materials employed in the manufacture of palm-leaf manuscripts among the Siamese may not be without interest to those who have never been in a Buddhist land.

The process is about as follows: The leaves of the palm tree are brought in from the country in large bundles, each leaf being about eighteen inches long and doubled in the middle. These leaves are given to the priests by the peasants as a means of "making merit."¹ The first operation in converting the leaves into the finished manuscript is to divide them by cutting out the midrib, thus making two leaves of each leaf of the tree. These leaves are then made up into bundles of some hundred pieces each and are then placed between boards tightly tied up and wedged in a press. While still there the edges of the

¹ Sometimes the preliminary operations just described are done by persons outside the wats and then the products sold or given to the priests. It was from such outside persons that I used to obtain the leaves which my scribe needed in his copying of manuscripts.

leaves are trimmed smoothly with a semi-circular knife which is in a handle some two feet long. After sanding the leaves to give them a smooth surface for writing or rather inscribing, the bundles are then ready for the next stage in the book-making process.

After the surface of the leaves has been sanded and made in good condition for receiving the strokes of the scribe's stylus, the actual copying of the books can begin. Each copyist has in front of him, as he squats on the floor of the temple, a frame about eighteen inches in height somewhat resembling an artist's easel, on one ledge of which rests the manuscript to be copied and on the other ledge the blank leaves for the new volume. The pen or rather stylus is a needle point like the needle of a sewing machine, inserted in a wooden handle like an enormous cigar about eight inches in length. Before doing any writing the scribe marks lines, usually five in number, on each leaf by means of strings which are placed in a frame with the ends tied and the rest loose. These strings are then blackened with soot from the bottom of a rice pot and the strings are placed in position over the palm leaf and then snapped. The result is a series of lightly marked black lines on the leaf which serves the writer as a guide for his stylus. The copyist then holds the blank leaf in his hand and with the needle point scratches the letters of the text on the prepared surface of the leaf. It is remarkable how the writer holds the leaf in his hand and does not rest it upon any surface for steadiness. The letters when scratched are of course almost invisible unless carefully examined, as no coloring matter is put on the pen point. In order to render the writing clearer the entire surface of the leaf is smeared with soot and then wiped off and scoured with clean sand. The black adheres to the scratches and is removed from the rest of the surface by the sand. When a sufficient number of pages are ready they are placed in a press and the edges trimmed off and sometimes gilded. The leaves are formed into volumes by being tied together by a string running through holes in the middle of the leaf. Each leaf is usually written on both sides, so that there are two pages of five lines each on every palm leaf.

A book almost always consists of twelve, and a double book of twenty-four leaves.

During my stay in Siam I nearly always had a scribe working at copying Siamese Pāli manuscripts of the chief works of the modern Buddhism of Siam. The manuscripts in the possession of the priests or temples in Siam are considered so holy that it is only with the greatest difficulty that the priests can be induced to part with them. The result is that it is necessary to copy nearly everything that is desired for purposes of study and research.

I was particularly favored in obtaining, through the kind offices of H.R.H. Prince Damrong, himself a very keen student of the antiquities of Siam, the loan of a number of rare and beautiful manuscripts of Buddhist works. I was also fortunate in receiving from several missionary friends copies of old and valuable Shan and Laos manuscripts and one fragment of a Peguan text. The script employed in these is very similar to that used in the Siamese manuscripts proper, but varies from them to the degree to be expected in a writing which has suffered such vicissitudes of fortune as the Shan and Peguan scripts.

It is to be hoped that the project of establishing a national library at Bangkok for the purpose of preserving the ancient manuscripts, which was taken up just before my departure from Siam in the early part of 1906, will not be allowed to drop. If the library is established, it will be a worthy complement to the Wang Nah Museum in Bangkok, where through Prince Damrong's influence a most creditable collection of inscriptions, cylinders, and other archeological specimens of ancient Siam are gathered together and suitably exhibited.

A systematic search through the temples scattered so plentifully over Siam would doubtless reveal the presence of many manuscripts of great value for the scientific study of Siamese Buddhism and might even bring to light some works altogether unknown to scholars. This search should be made by properly accredited agents of the Ministry of the Interior, and the manuscripts when found should be loaned by the priests to the national library in Bangkok, where they would be accessible to all students. If necessary, copies could be made and left with the temples whence the originals had been taken.

Additions to Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.—By TRUMAN
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THE general interest in the Purūravas-Urvaśī saga prompts me to make a few additions to Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* from the Bhāgavata and Vāyu Purāṇas.¹ Strictly speaking, these should be called 'supplements' rather than 'additions,' for the Concordance does not claim to include any Purāṇic material, and indeed the author would not have been justified in wading through the bulky Purāṇas to excerpt the little that smacked of 'Vedic flavor.'

The Purūravas-Urvaśī saga occurs in BhP. ix. 14 and VP. xc. What I desire to point out is that a few lines of RV. x. 95 are reflected in them. Naturally in our Purāṇas the triṣṭubhs are converted into ślokas. It is particularly to be observed that in BhP. ix. 14. 34d the Vedic *kṛṇavāvahāi* survives; the unusual *mā sma* construed with the optative (*ibidem* ix. 14. 36b) is also noteworthy.²

With so much of an introduction, I give below, first, the Vedic lines with their correspondents in BhP., and secondly the half-śloka of VP. that recalls RV. x. 95. 1ab:

<i>hayé jāye mānasā tiṣṭha ghore</i> , RV. x. 95. 1a	
<i>aho jāye tiṣṭha tiṣṭha</i>	
<i>ghore</i>	BhP. ix. 14. 34ab;
<i>vácāṁsi miśrā kṛṇavāvahāi nú</i> , RV. x. 95. 1b	
<i>vacāṁsi kṛṇavāvahāi</i>	BhP. ix. 14. 34d;
<i>sudevó adyá prapáted ánāvṛt</i> , RV. x. 95. 14a	
<i>sudeho 'yam papaty atra</i>	BhP. ix. 14. 35a;
<i>ádthāinam vṛkā rabhasāso adyáḥ</i> , RV. x. 95. 14d	
<i>khādanty enam vṛkā gṛdhrās</i>	BhP. ix. 14. 35c;
<i>púrūravo má mṛthā má prá pāto</i> , RV. x. 95. 15a	
<i>mā mṛthāḥ puruṣo 'si tvam</i>	BhP. ix. 14. 36a;

¹ BhP. is cited according to the Bombay ed. of 1898; VP. according to the text of the Ānandāśrama Series; I have silently corrected a slight error in the numbering of the former.

² Is *adyur* due to *adyuḥ* of RV. x. 95. 14d?

mā trā vṛkāso āśivāsa u kṣan, RV. x. 95. 15b
mā sma tvā 'dyur vṛkā ime, BhP. ix. 14. 36b;
nā vāi strāṇāni sakhyāni santi, RV. x. 95. 15c
krāpi sakhyam na vāi strīṇām, BhP. ix. 14. 36c;
sālāvṛkāṇām hṛdayāny etā, RV. x. 95. 15d
vṛkāṇām hṛdayam yathā, BhP. ix. 14. 36d;
āyāhi tiṣṭha manasā
ghore vacasi tiṣṭha he, VP. xc. 35cd.

Doubtless too *anivṛtya* of BhP. ix. 14. 34c is a reminiscence of *ānāvṛt*, RV. x. 95. 14a.

It is instructive to note that nearly all the Vedic peculiarities have been altered to Classical Sanskrit, and how unusual words have been replaced by more common ones. The corruption of *pārūraro* to *puruṣo* is due to the fact that the initial sounds of the two words are identical. The change of metre is responsible for some of the more violent discrepancies between the versions, but not all; and indeed we may say that the change in metre itself is due to faulty tradition.

On Certain Work in continuance of the Vedic Concordance—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

IN the preface to my Vedic Concordance I had occasion more than once to refer to certain future work, likely in the natural course of events to grow out of that performance, work for which the Concordance itself furnishes the background or basis. There will be a long time hence the inevitable supplement. Some few texts have already appeared, entirely or in part; others are known to exist in manuscripts which will doubtless in due time find their editors. Very anomalous is the position of the Pāippalāda text of the Atharva-Veda, the so-called Kashmirian Atharva-Veda. A *fac simile* reproduction of the unique manuscript of this text, belonging to the library of the University of Tübingen, was edited by Professor Garbe and myself (Baltimore, 1901). Since then Dr. L. C. Barrett has published a critical edition of the first book in JAOS. xxvi. 197 ff.; the same scholar has now in hand a similar elaboration of the second book. This enables us to estimate more precisely the condition and value of the Kashmir manuscript. The text as a whole is even more corrupt than has been supposed. Especially those hymns and stanzas which lack parallels in the Çāunaka version of the AV. or in the rest of Vedic literature are frequently in the condition of *vox et proterea nihil*: entire stanzas and even longer passages are a meaningless jumble of senseless sounds. The effect of an attempt to divide this material into pādas, and to superimpose upon these an alphabetic arrangement, would be in the end nothing less than shocking. I have never quit endeavoring to obtain another manuscript of this ill-fated text, and I still hope, against hope, that some out-of-the-way library in Kashmir may hide away the precious document. In any case it seemed to me, and it seems to me now, wise to defer such an analysis of the text as would fit for a concordance its metrical units, whether they be dealt with as pādas, hemistichs, or entire stanzas, for a later time, the time of the supple-

ment. There can be no regret for the absence of this *indigesta moles* from the pages of the foundation work of the Concordance, as long as there is hope that the Pāippalāda may, for one reason or another, assume a more decent aspect in the future.

So much then for the supplement. On the other hand, the Concordance contains within its covers certain materials of the kind that chemists call by-products; materials which call for more or less immediate attention. These the author of the Concordance should deal with himself, because he understands best their value and knows best how to bring them to market. Three of these by-products are particularly important, though in varying degrees, and involving very different kinds and degrees of activity.

First, I have spoken in the preface of the imitative and mechanical character of Vedic literary production. At no stage of Vedic literature have we before us anything that resembles beginnings. Even the Rig-Veda is pretty nearly the final expression of its own type of composition; it presupposes a long period of antecedent activity, obviously going back to the common Indo-Persian or Aryan time. Paradoxical as this may sound, the hymns of the Rig-Veda as a body are largely epigonal, or born after a long period of hymn-production which must have, once upon a time, been much freer from conventional thought and machine-made utterance. The Concordance shows that of the forty thousand lines of the Rig-Veda about five thousand lines are repeated lines. The average of repetition is about three times, so that we have the provisional and rough result, that not far from 2000 verse-lines occur two, or three, or more times. This tendency to repetition prevails not only in the first, eighth, ninth, and tenth books, but it asserts itself also to an astonishing degree where it is much less expected, namely, in the so-called family-books of the Rig-Veda (books ii-vii), those books which tradition connects very persistently with the oldest eponyms of Hindu priestly families (Rishi families), such as the Vasiṣṭhas, Viçvāmitras, Bharadvājas, etc. They seem to be all alike good borrowers: Peter from Paul, Paul from Peter, and both from Simon. A preliminary survey of the facts shows that there is none of these books that does not borrow from the other. The exact nature of these borrowings the future may possibly disclose; to some extent at least, they represent, exactly

as in later Vedic times, adoption of floating verses which had become common property, rather than literary pilfering. But of one thing I am quite certain now. Attempts have been made more than once to arrange these books according to relative chronology. These arrangements have ever been shaky for all sorts of reasons, but the repeated pādas show pretty clearly that the whole structure, as far as the inner kernel of the Rig-Veda is concerned, is a house of cards. This collection as a whole is the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it, of a literary activity of great and indefinite length. Its every part seems to be conscious of and assimilated to every other part, so that the only thing we do know about relative Vedic chronology is, that, at a time later than the redaction of the family books, it was still possible for imitators to excite themselves to the manufacture of *quasi-pks* in a more popular language, and of a yet more obviously epigonal character. The assortment and the critique of these repeated materials is the first task which falls into the bulging lap of the author of the Concordance: the materials are in my hands, and I hope in due time to present them, along with such deductions as seem to me to be derivable from them.

The second task, namely the elaboration of a reverse concordance, is suggested on page x^b and xiv^a of the introductory pages of the main work. It means an index of the items of the Concordance arranged alphabetically from the end. The use of such an index will be in the main two-fold. First, it will reveal a large number of additional verse lines and formulas which are identical or similar, except that they differ in their opening word or words. In the foundation work I endeavored to gather in all such correspondences as far as was permitted by the instrument in my hands, namely, alphabetic arrangement from the beginning, and thorough comparison of all the pādas of a given stanza, or all the phrases which form the units of a lengthy prose mantra. No amount of diligence could possibly exhaust such correspondences, but the reverse index will reveal them pretty nearly in their entirety, and at the same time throw valuable light on the technical structure of the final cadences. Secondly, just as the opening words of the items of the main work supply to some extent the place of a word for word index of the mantras, so the reverse index will supply additional material of

the same sort. Between the two there will be, incidentally, in the hands of Sanskrit scholars nearly one half of complete word concordance of the mantras—a not mean instrument to tide over to the time when a complete word concordance of the mantras may yet be composed by some courageous scholar of another generation. The reverse index, I may state, is also well under way, and there is good prospect that it may see the light of day within a reasonable time.

The third task which imposes itself, and which any scholar might gladly welcome, is the elaboration of the Vedic variants. Their number reaches, perhaps, the astonishing total of 50,000, if we count each and every variation as a separate item. During the past year or two I have prepared a preliminary rough assortment of these variants; needless to say they promise to become a very valuable instrument for the study of the Vedic language and literary tradition. They throw, in the first place, strong light on the affiliations of the Vedic schools. Traditional native Hindu reports of the inter-relations of the Vedic schools (Caranavyūhas, Commentators, etc.) are interesting documents whose statements are by no means negligible. But, like almost all native treatments of Vedic matters, they make up in fable and exaggeration what they lack in reliable information and sound judgment. Aside from this very imperfect Hindu tradition, and some slender indications concerning the geographical distribution of the Vedic schools, we have only the texts themselves to guide us in any attempt to establish the affiliations of these schools: the harmonics and discrepancies of the texts of these schools, shown most incisively in the variations of one and the same passage, are the chief and truest index. Upon a critical sifting of the variants, therefore, our knowledge of the Vedic schools will ultimately depend, unless some new and unforeseen source of information should spring up.

The Vedic variants, however, seem to me even more valuable for what they teach about this oldest language of the Brahmans. Conventional and scholastic though it be, limited, at least as far as we have it, by the monotone qualities of religious use and constant attitude of eulogy and prayer, it nevertheless is full of bouncing vitality, and a degree of freedom that borders on license. Anything like the notion that this ancient speech of the Rishis is dead, will, if I am not mistaken, pass out of the

mind of any one who has occasion to survey these variants. A language which is still resourceful enough to indulge itself in something like 10,000 synonymic variations, sometimes varying intelligently one word six times,¹ is, to say the least, a very lively corpse. Every phase of speech history is illumined : consonantal and vocalic phonetics; laws of euphony between successive words; formation of noun-stems, and case endings; formation of verb-stems, and every modality of voice, time, mood, and personal endings; syntax of parts of speech and syntax of sentences; order of words; synonymy; and stylistic expression.

For the study of language in general these variants are of very great interest, because they contain, as it were, the speakers' declaration of independence. They show on an enormous scale that a thing expressed in one way may, without apparent effort, be expressed in one or more other ways. But they show also how repeated tradition may put in the place of correct speech inferior or blundering substitutes.

The study of these variants, if I should be skilful enough to carry it on aright, and lucky enough to carry it to a finish, will pump red blood into every paragraph of Sanskrit grammar.

There are over a hundred cases of interchange between sonants and surds, beginning with a suspicious double reading in RV.; one of which only, presumably 9. 12. 6^a, is likely to be original:

RV. 9. 12. 6^a, *pra vācam indur isyati*;

RV. 9. 35. 4^a, *pra vājam indur isyati*.

As another illustration of this interchange, a certain item contains the name of an unknown wild animal (according to TS., a tiger) in a triple variant involving this kind of change, namely as *pitra*, *pīdra*, and *bīdra* :

pītro (VS. MS. *pīdro*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakūṭhas*; TS. *kaṭas*) *te 'numatyāi* VS. 24. 32; TS. 5. 5. 17. 1; MS. 3. 14. 13: 175. 4: *bīdro nyañkuḥ kaṭas te 'numatyāḥ* KSA. 7. 7.

The interchange between *m* and *v* which runs as a red thread though the entire history of the Hindu dialects is illustrated by about fifty variants beginning in the Samhitās themselves, e. g. :

¹ See, e. g. the item of the Concordance, *prāṇāpānābhyām balam āvīcantī* (*āhvantī*; *ābūdhānā*; *āvphantī*; *ābhurantī*; *ābhajantī*).

RV. 8. 69. 1^b, *mandadrīrāyendave*:

SV. 1. 360^b, *vandadrīrāyendave*.

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañcasva*) *pṛthīri mā nī bādthāh*

(TA. *mā nī bādthāh*) RV. 10. 18. 11^a; AV. 18. 3. 50^a;

TA. 6. 7. 1^a.

nama ūrvyāya (MS. *ūrmīyāya*) *ca sārvyāya* (TS. MS.

sūrmīyāya) *ca* VS. 16. 45; TS. 4. 5. 9. 2; MS. 2. 9. 8;

127. 1: *namas sārmyāya cormyāya ca* KS. 17. 15.

The interchange between *r* and *l*, phonetically easy, but in Sanskrit well forward in discussions as to the relative chronology of Vedic texts, is again illustrated by about 50 variants: *rabh* and *labh*; *pru* and *plu*; *ṛiṣ* and *ḷiṣ*; *pāraya* and *pālaya*; *vīraya* and *vīlaya*; *achalā* and *acharā*; *viliṣṭa* and *virīṣṭa*; *purītātā* and *pulītātā*; *sthāla* and *sthāra*; *aḷsā* and *āreṣā*; *upapṛavada* and *upaplavada*; *vāliḥ* and *vāraḥ*; *ḷukla* and *ḷukra*; *rohita* and *lohita*; and, with double change, *sarira* and *salila*, *rarāṭa* and *lalāṭa*; *aḷṛira* and *aḷṛila*.

The order of words in sentences and clauses of the Indo-European languages has been a matter of interest since the early days of these studies. There are just about one thousand cases of change of order in one and the same pāda or prose passage. So, *e. g.*, the following pāda and sentence is varied fourfold.¹

ā garbho yonim etu te:

ā yonim garbha etu te:

ā te garbho yonim etu:

ā te yonim garbha etu:

Two more cases of multiple variation are:

divam ṛtīyatām devān yaḷjñō ḡgāt:

divam devāns ṛtīyatām yaḷjñō ḡgāt:

devān divam yaḷjñō ḡgāt:

devān divam agam yaḷjñah.

And again,

tram agne pūrīṣyaḥ:

agne tram pūrīṣyaḥ:

pūrīṣyas tram agne.

¹ Henceforward I shall omit such citations as are readily supplied by the Concordance.

There will be found a considerable degree of instability in the position of the predicate, whether finite verb or otherwise; in the position of the subject; in the position of the vocative; in the relation of the preposition to its verb (tmesis); in the order of nouns and their attributes; in the position of the relative pronoun in the sentence; in the order of principal and dependent clauses; and in almost any other imaginable adjustment of words and clauses to one another. An illustration or two of each of the kinds mentioned may suffice for the present:

Position of the verb.

asmā etaṁ pitaro lokam akran:
akranṁ imaṁ pitaro lokam asmāi.
ādityās tvā jāgatena chandasā sanimṛjantu:
ādityās tvā sanimṛjantu jāgatena chandasā.
prṇakṣi rodasī ubhe:
ubhe prṇakṣi rodasī.

Position of the predicate, not finite verb.

dāivya adhvaryava upahūtāḥ:
upahūtā dāivya adhvaryavaḥ.

Position of the subject, or object.

ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ:
tebhyo 'haṁ akaraṁ namaḥ.
retas tan me pitā vṛṇktām:
tan me retas pitā vṛṇktām.

Position of the vocative.

eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ:
rudrāiṣa te bhāgaḥ.
tābhyām rājan pari dehy enam:
tābhyām enaṁ pari dehi rājan.

Tmesis.

vanaspatir adhi tvā sthāsyati:
vanaspatis tvādhiṣṭhāsyati.
imam ā bhaja grāme açveṣu goṣu:
emaṁ bhaja grāme açveṣu goṣu.

Order of nouns and their attributes.

upa mām mātū pṛthivī hvayatām:

upa mām pṛthivī mātū hvayatām.

tañ citrañ bhāgam īmahe:

tañ bhāgañ citrañ īmahe.

Position of the relative pronoun.

akoṣāḥ koṣinīḥ ca yāḥ:

akoṣā yāḥ ca koṣinīḥ.

īḥ yo asya dvipadaḥ catuspadaḥ:

ya īḥ asya dvipadaḥ catuspadaḥ.

Order of principal and dependent clauses.

yañ dviṣṇas tañ te ḥug ṛchatu:

amun te ḥug ṛchatu yañ dviṣmaḥ.

yañ vayan dhvarāma tañ dhvara:

tañ dhūrva yañ vayan dhūrvāmaḥ.

There are, as stated above, masses of variants that concern verbal inflexion. The Concordance shows about 200 cases of interchange between active and middle voice, both in finite forms and in participles. For the most part the interchange of voice takes place with the same verbal stem; occasionally the verbal stem varies also in other respects, as when we have,

prātaḥ somam uta rudrañ huvema (havāmahe);

or, *īsam ūrjam aham ita ādam (ādade).*

Other examples of the interchange of voices are:

viṣṇo havyaṇ rakṣasva (rakṣa).

sakhāya ā ḥiṣāmaḥi (ḥiṣāmahe).

ḥivo me saptarṣin (sapta ṛṣin) upa tiṣṭhasva (tiṣṭha).

vy aḥema (aḥemaḥi) devakītañ yad āyuiḥ.

yunakta sirā vī yuyā tanudhvam (tanota).

ugrañ cettāram adhīrājam akran (akrata).

sa yathā tvāñ bhrājatā bhrājo'sy evāhañ bhrājatā

bhrājyāsam (tvāñ bhrājyā bhrājasa evam ahañ

bhrājyā bhrājiṣya).

antar evaṣmāṇaṇ vārayatāt (vārayadhvāt).

adhīhi (adhīṣva) bhoḥ.

pramuñcamānā (pramuñcanto) bhuvanasya retah.
palāyisyamānāya (palāyisyate) svāhā.
viçvā āçā dīdyāno (dīdyad) vi bhāhi.

Let me dwell more particularly upon one of the broader aspects of the variants that concern verbal inflexion, namely, interchange of moods. In a body of texts dealing almost entirely with the praise of fictitious gods, with efforts to coax them into good humor and liberality, and with all sorts of magic hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes, the indicative is in reality the prevailing mode of uncertainty. This is so because the indicative states categorically what, in the nature of the case, is not certain, but is merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, for instance, a poet priest states serenely in the present indicative that a certain god in his wisdom has the power of making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

aditsantan dāpayati prajānan VS. 9. 24^c; KS. 14. 2^c;
 ÇB. 5. 2. 2. 6.

What is really meant is, that the poet hopes, wishes, or requests, and so on, that the god may, should, or shall do so. Accordingly, three other texts show the imperative *dāpayatu*, 'shall make give,' as variant of the indicative *dāpayati*, 'makes give,' to wit:

aditsantan (AV. utāditsantan) dāpayatu prajānan AV.
 3. 20. 8^c; TS. 1. 7. 10. 1^c; MS. 1. 11. 4^c: 165. 6.

I see no reason why we should deny such an indicative the name hortative indicative, even if we remember that this use of the indicative contains also a touch of piety and faith. Be this as it may, the poets express their desires along the same line in even more certain tone: they employ preterite indicatives, more particularly, the aorist, that perfective aorist which is the equivalent of the Greek perfect. So, for instance, some texts say: 'I have speedily attained unto truth,'

añjasā satyam upāgām MS. 1. 2. 7: 16. 15; KS. 2. 8,

while the majority, nine in number, say, using the aorist injunctive, 'May I speedily attain unto truth,'

añjasā satyam upa geṣam VS. 5. 5; TS. 1. 2. 10. 2; GB.
2. 2. 3; ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 14; AÇ. 4. 5. 3; ÇÇ. 5. 8. 2;
Vāit. 13. 18; LÇ. 5. 6. 6; ÇG. 1. 6. 5.

Or, one text says: 'The moon and the constellations have helped thee along,'

candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvāvīt KS. 37. 9^d,

whereas another says, using the imperative, 'May the moon and the constellations help thee along,'

candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvāratu.

This aorist, especially frequent in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been named prophetic aorist; it obviously has a touch of slyness, cocksureness, and even bluster, underneath which lurks, however, the modal element of desire and doubt which the hot-headed statement does not disguise.

There are about two hundred cases in which these indicatives vary with some one or more of the grammatical modal forms: imperative, optative, injunctive, and thematic subjunctive. Now it is interesting to observe that the mild and pious present indicative varies mostly with the imperative, rather than with any of the other modes:

somo vīraṁ karmण्याṁ dādāti (TB. *dadātu*) RV. 1.
91. 20^b; VS. 34. 21^b; MS. 4. 14. 1^b: 214. 2; TB. 2.
8. 3. 1^b,

'Soma bestows (and, may bestow) upon us a pious son.'

Or,

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. *yāti*) *savitā suratnaḥ* RV. 7.
45. 1^a; MS. 4. 14. 6^a: 223. 13; KS. 17. 19^a; AB.
5. 5. 7; KB. 22. 9; ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 7; TB. 2. 8. 6. 1^a;
AÇ. 3. 7. 14: 10. 6. 9: ÇÇ. 10. 5. 23: 16. 1. 21,

'God Savitar comes (and, may come) hither with precious treasure.'

This calls to mind the fact that throughout Sanskrit literature the imperative is, to a large extent, a mode of wish as well as of command, as when in contrast with Lat. *vivat crescat floreat*, or *vivat rex*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jyātu rājā*.

And it seemed to me well to note this in the several persons of the imperative, not only the third person, which is most frequent. It fits these as well. For instance:

kṣatrāṇām kṣatrapatir asi TS. 1. 8. 14. 2; TB. 1. 7. 8. 5; ApÇ 18. 6. 6,
 ‘Thou art sovereign lord of sovereignties,’ varies with,
kṣatrāṇām kṣatrapatir edhi VS. 10. 17; ÇB. 5. 4. 2. 2;
 KÇ. 15. 5. 32,

‘Be thou sovereign lord of sovereignties’! In brief, the imperative seems to me, on the evidence of the variants, to encroach upon the more timid wish-modes to a larger extent than that which is to be expected in a mode of command.¹

As stated above, the present and preterite indicatives vary not only with the imperative, but also with every other modal category. I shall reserve counts for a later time and merely cite an example or two of other kinds of variation.

Aorist and Optative.

grāvāvātīd (grāvā vated) abhi somasyāñçum (°çunā).

Aorist and Thematic Subjunctive.

ānyāvākṣīd (ānyā vaksad) vasu vāryāñi.
viṣṇus tvā krāmatām (tvākrañsta).

Aorist and Injunctive.

añjasū satyam upa geṣam (upāgām).

Imperfect and Thematic Subjunctive.

ā vo rohito açṛṇod abhidyaḥ:
ā vo rohitaḥ çṛṇavat sudānavaḥ

Perfect and Thematic Subjunctive.

sa viçvā prati cākḷpe: sa viçvañ prati cākḷpat.

Present Indicative and Thematic Subjunctive.

indro jayāti (jayati) na parā jayātūi (jayute).

Present Indicative and Optative.

grābhañ grbhñta (grbhñāti) sūnasim.

¹ Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 361.

Present Indicative and Injunctive.

pra te divo na stanayanti çuṣmāḥ (stanayantu çuṣmāiḥ).

Next, the imperative varies with every other mode, most frequently with the subjunctive, but also with injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive:

Imperative and Thematic Subjunctive.

te no raçim sarvaçiraṁ ni yachān (yachantu).
tapto vām gharṇo nakṣati (nakṣatu) svahotā.
uta trātū çivo bhavā (bhavo) varāthyah.
gārhapatya un no neṣat : garhapatya un ninetu.

Imperative and Injunctive.

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (juṣantām).
tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (dāḥ).
pra-pra yaçñupatiṁ tira (tirah).

Imperative and Injunctive with *mā* Prohibitive.

mā saryena dakṣiṇam atikrāma (atikrāmīḥ).¹

Imperative and Optative.

arakṣasū manasū taj juṣeta (juṣethāḥ; juṣasva).

Imperative and Precative.

durmitrās (°mītryās ; °mītriyās) tasmāi santu (bhūyāsur) yo 'smān(asmān) dveṣti yaṁ ca vayanḥ dviṣmaḥ.
yo no dveṣty adhuraḥ sas padīṣtu (sa padyatām).

Imperative and Future.

vāg ārtviçyaṁ kariṣyati (karotu).

Imperative and Infinitive.

brāhmaṇāns tarpaya (tarpayitavāi).

Again, the subjunctive which we have already met in interchange with indicative and imperative, in its turn, alternates also with the rest of the modes:

Thematic Subjunctive and Injunctive.

tasmāi devā adhī bravan (bruvan).
sa (sā) naḥ çarma trivarūtham vī yaṁsat (trivarūtham ni yachāt).

¹ Contrary to Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 361.

Thematic Subjunctive and Optative.

ṣṛṇavāma (ṣṛṇuyāma) ṣaradaḥ ṣatam.
vidād (vided) urjam ṣatukratur vidād (vided) iṣam.

Thematic Subjunctive and Precative.

agniṣ tat punar ābharāt (ābhriyāt).
aham evedaṁ sarvaṁ bhūyāsam (sarvaṁ asānī).

Thematic Subjunctive and Future.

teṣāṁ mātā bhaviṣyasi: bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā.

And so also most of the remaining possible permutations occur freely:

Injunctive and Optative.

asyām ṛdhad (ṛdhet) dhotrāyaṁ devaṁgamāyām.

Injunctive with mā (Prohibitive) and Optative.

*mā tvāgnīr dhranayīd (dhanayīd; dhranayīd; dhvan-
 ayed) dhūmagandhīh.³*

Optative and Precative.

sahasrapoṣaṁ vaḥ puṣyāsam (puṣeyam).
trayāyaṁ vṛtraṁ vadhyāt (badhyāt; badhet).
*saṁ aham āyuṣā saṁ varcasā saṁ prajāyā saṁ rāyas
 poṣeṇa gṁīya (gmīṣīya).*

Precative and Future.

*justam adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (vācam vadiṣ-
 yāmi).*
madhu vaṅṣiṣīya (vaṅṣīye).

There are also a number of cases in which there are more than two variations, as e. g.,

Indicative, Imperative and Thematic Subjunctive.

kṣeme tiṣṭhati (tiṣṭhatu; tiṣṭhāti) ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā.

Indicative, Imperative, and Precative.

*sūrya bhrājīṣtha bhrājīṣthas (bhrājasvīn bhrājasvī; bhrā-
 jascan bhrājasvāns; bhrājaskāra bhrājasvāns) tvam
 (traṁ varcasvān) deveṣv asi (deveṣv edhi; deveṣu
 bhūyāḥ).*

¹ Cf. Delbrück, l. c. p. 338.

Indian Inscriptions on the Fire Temple at Bāku—By the
Rev. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, D.D., Bombay, India.

ON his journey to Persia in 1903 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson visited the Fire Temple at Bāku on the Caspian Sea.¹ He kindly forwarded to me for deciphering a photograph of one of the fifteen inscriptions he noticed on the walls of the temple and its precincts.

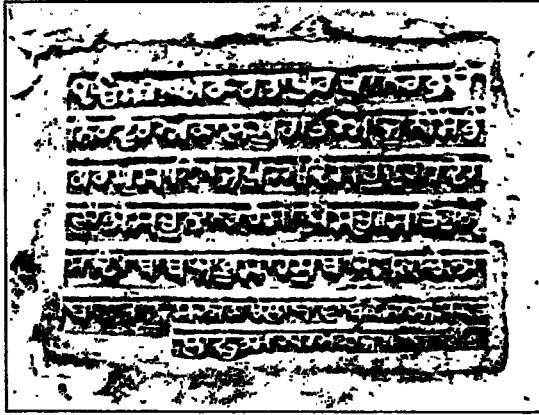
Professor Jackson has since called my attention to three other undeciphered inscriptions, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1897, by Colonel C. E. Stewart, Consul General at Odessa, accompanied with a description of the Fire Temple as it appeared on his first visit in 1866, and again in 1881. So far as I am aware, none of these fifteen inscriptions have hitherto been deciphered and I have been entirely successful only with one, Inscr. A. (see below), the photographic reproduction of which is very distinct.

Inscription A. The letters of this inscription are clearly cut and well preserved. The language is Panjābi, and the alphabet is that of the ordinary Panjābi of the present day.² It is inscribed in seven lines.

The first four lines of the text are the opening lines of the "Japji," one of the sections of the *Adi Granth*, the great religious book of the Sikhs. This special verse of the Japji is one well known and is daily repeated by all faithful Sikhs. The remaining lines of the text contain the names of Bābā Jagushāh and his disciples, builder or builders of the "sacred place," Dharamki jagah.

¹ See "Notes on a Journey to Persia" in the JAOS., Vol. xxv, p. 177.

² W. St. Clair Tisdall in his *Panjābi Grammar* calls the language of the Japji "a mixture of Braj Bhāshā and old Panjābi."



TRANSLITERATION.

१ ओं सति नाम करता पुरखु निरभड
 निरवैरु अकाल मूरति अजुनी सैभं
 गुर प्रसादि । जपु । आदि सचु जुगादि स
 चु है भी सचु नानक होसी भी सचु ॥ सति गुरप्र
 सादि ॥ बाबा जगूसाह सुबा जिसका चेला
 बाबा तगूसाह जि[स] का चेला बाबा बकसाह जिसका चे
 ला हतसाह धरमकी जगह बनई

Om sati nāma karatā purakhu nirabhau
 niravairu akāla mūrati ajūnī saibham
 gura prasādi | japu | ādi sacu jugādi sa
 cu hai bhī sacū Nānaka hosī bhī sacu satī gurapra
 sādī Bābā Jagūsāh Subā jisakā celā
 Bāvā Tāgūsāh ji(sa) kā celā Bāvā Bakasāh jisakā ce
 lā Chatasāh dharamkī jagah banai

TRANSLATION.

Om. Whose name is Existence, Creator, The Male, Without fear,

Without enmity, Timeless, Unborn, Self-existent,

Favor of the Guru. Repeat this. He is true in the beginning;

He is true from eternity; He is true now; Nanak (says) he will be true in the future. The favour of the true Guru.

Bābā Jagūshāh Subā, whose disciple is Bābā Tagūshāh, whose disciple is Bāvā Bakashāh, whose disciple is Chatashāh, built this religious place.

The Sanskrit equivalents for the Panjābi appellations used above are Sat, Nāman, Karatā, Purusha, Nirbhaya, Nirvāira, Akālamūrti, Ajanma Svayambhu.

A word may be added regarding the age of this inscription. It contains no date. As it, however, mentions Nānak (1469–1539), and quotes from the *Adi Granth*, a work ascribed to Bābā Nānak, and as considerable time must be allowed for the coming into existence of a feeling of reverence for the *Adi Granth*, such as to account for an insertion of a quotation in this inscription, it is probable that its age is the same as that of the *Nāgari* inscription (see *Inscr. C.* below) *Samvat* 1802, A.D. 1645.

Inscription B. This inscription may be found reproduced in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1897, page 311.

Like *Inscription A* above, it is in the Panjābi alphabet and language. It consists of eight lines, with as a rule 15 syllables in each line. It also begins with the same quotation from the *Japji* as *Inscr. A* above.

1. Om sati nāma karatā purakhu nirabha
2. u niravairu akāla mūrati ajūnī
3. saibham guraprasādi vāhu guruji sarāi
4. Bābā
5.
6.
7. . . . dharamaki jaga banāi . . .
8.

I feel too uncertain of the text to attempt to give it entire. After the quotation from the Japji appears the words “vāhu Guruji sarāi” “offer to the Guru the sarāi,” resthouse, or dharmasāla.

In the fourth line the title Bābā is plain, and in the seventh line “dharamki jaga banāi” “built this sacred place.” The name of the builder or builders appear different from those in the inscription above, but the purpose of the inscription appears to be the same, that of recording the names of those who erected perhaps that particular portion of the Dharamsāla, or who had part in the whole sacred edifice.

Inscription C. Reproduced in JRAS. for 1897, page 311. This inscription is in the Nāgari alphabet. It is in five lines and is placed directly over the inscription in the Persian alphabet (Inscr. D below). Both are inserted into the wall over a doorway in the temple enclosure.

I have succeeded in deciphering only a portion of this inscription, but as this portion contains the date Samvat 1802, I have thereby settled the era of the date 1158 in the inscription in the Persian alphabet. It is evident that 1158 belongs to the Hijri era, since Samvat 1802 and Hijri 1158 correspond exactly to A D. 1745.

I give below only such part of the text as I have satisfactorily deciphered.

1. Shri Ganeshāyanama: Shri Rāmaji sati shri
2. . . . Sāhab Samvat 1802 . . .
3.
4.
5. . . saphar dhāma . . . banāyā . . .

By *Saphar dhāma* I understand a travellers resting place, *saphar* journey, and *dhāma*, house; *banāyā*, built.

Inscription D. This inscription is directly under Inscription C (see above). It is in the Persian alphabet. I am unable to decipher it. It, however, contains a date, 1158, already noticed by others (see JRAS. 1897, page 311). The fact that this date corresponds with Samvat 1802, which I discovered in the Nāgari inscription directly above it, may be assumed as also giving the date of the building of the temple enclosure.

General Remarks. This Fire Temple is situated on the Caspian sea in the Trans-Caucasus Province of Russia, at Surukhaneh, a few miles from Baku. Surukhaneh is the site of a petroleum refinery which uses the natural petroleum gas for its operations. Whether this phenomenon of burning gas has had at this place any religious significance in ancient times is a question that yet remains to be settled. Some travellers have assumed that the temple has existed from ancient times, but so far as the evidence of the inscriptions at present available goes, the Fire Temple is of Indian origin, and the date of its erection A. D. 1745.

A possible difference of date for that of the center shrine and that for the enclosing precincts has been suggested. Over one of the archways of the center shrine there is an inscription which if it were available would doubtless definitely settle the question whether the shrine in the center was of the same date or older. Visitors to the temple have found the inscription too high up for a satisfactory photograph. In the photo-zinco reproduction of the center shrine illustrating the description by Colonel Stewart (JRAS. 1897, p. 311) this inscription can be seen above the archway, but the letters are too minute and indistinct to yield any result. For the present the only conclusion that can be drawn from the inscriptions is that the temple, including the present center shrine, is quite modern, dating A. D. 1745.

It is of course possible that the present temple may be on the site of an older structure. The accounts of travellers before A. D. 1745 who may have visited this region might possibly settle this question. I have, however, had access to only a few accounts of such travellers, and these have been silent as regards the existence of any temple there.

As a matter of interest Prof. Jackson has called my attention to several modern travellers who have visited Baku, and mention the temple.

Morier's reference to the temple (in his *Second Journey Through Persia*, 1800-16, Vol. 2. p. 243) is scant, but he mentions meeting with a Hindu pilgrim returning from Baku to Benares.

John Ussher (*Journey from London to Persepolis*, London, 1865) appears to have visited Baku in Sept. 1863. The book

contains a coloured frontispiece representing the center shrine lighted up by the natural gas, both within in the center of the floor and without at the upper four corners.

Baron Thielmann is referred to in Col. Stewart's article as mentioning the Fire Temple, but I have not had access to his description.¹

When Colonel Stewart visited the temple in 1866 one Hindu priest alone remained to minister to the sacred fire. In 1881, when he made his second visit, he found the priest gone, the fire extinguished and the keys of the temple in the hands of the engineer of the refinery.

[¹ The reference is to Thielmann, *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, etc.*, 2. 9-12, London, 1875.—There is a brief anonymous paragraph, with a photograph of the temple precinct, in *Men and Women of India*, 1. 695, Bombay, 1905. Moreover, under date Sept. 21, 1904, the Parsi Priest Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, of Bombay, wrote me a letter saying that he had a copy of the inscription on the gate of the temple, given him by the noted traveler, Sven Hedin, and adds that the copy "clearly shows that the inscription is Hindu. We read therein Shri Ganesh and Viram, etc. Unfortunately the very portion of the date is not clear."—In Henry, *Baku, an Eventful History*, pp. 25-28, London, 1907, will be found some general references to the natural fire at Baku and also a picture of the shrine.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1908.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday and Friday of Easter week, April 23d and 24th, in the Phillips Brooks House and in the Semitic Museum.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott,	Higginson,	Michelson,	Sanders,
Arnold, W. R.	Hock,	Moore, G. F.	Scott, C. P. G.
Atkinson,	Hopkins,	Moore, J. H.	Scott, Mrs. M. M.
Barton,	Howland,	Moore, Mrs. G. F.	Sherman,
Bloomfield,	Hussey, Miss	Morse,	Steele,
Bolling,	Jackson,	Müller,	Thompson,
Carus,	Jewett,	Muss-Arnolt,	Torrey,
Channing, Miss	Joseph,	Nies, J. B.	Toy,
Chester,	Kellner,	Oertel,	Ward, W. H.
Colton, Miss	Kendrick, Miss	Ogden, C. J.	Warren, W. F.
Crane,	Lanman,	Ogden, Miss E. S.	Werren,
Haas,	Lilley,	Price,	Winslow.
Harper,	Madsen,	Ropes.	
Haupt.	Magoun,		Total, 53

The first session began on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, with Professor Lanman in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., April 4th and 5th, 1908, which had been already printed in the *Journal* (Volume xxviii, p. 407 ff.), was dispensed with.

The Committee of Arrangements, through Professor G. F. Moore, presented its report in the form of a printed programme.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Thursday afternoon at half-past two, Friday morning at half-

past nine, and Friday afternoon at half-past two. It was announced that a luncheon would be given to the Society by the President and Fellows of Harvard College at the Harvard Union on Friday at one o'clock, and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the same place on Thursday evening at seven o'clock. The Colonial Club and the Harvard Union extended their courtesies to the members of the Society during its sessions.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary was presented by Professor E. W. Hopkins.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Through the friendly agency of our member, Dr. Asakawa, and the kindness of Count Ōkuma, ex-Prime Minister of Japan, the Society has been enriched by a gift of types, of which the need has been apparent for some time. Dr. Asakawa writes, under date of Oct. 2, 1907: "Count Ōkuma (ex-Premier) accepted my suggestion to present to the American Oriental Society a complete font of Japanese and Chinese movable type, No. 5, and I trust that it will come here within a few months." Your Secretary would urge that Dr. Asakawa be thanked by the Society for his thoughtfulness in suggesting this gift and that a suitable letter of thanks be sent to Count Ōkuma for his generous present, which in the meantime has arrived.

Among the letters accepting election to membership only those of the new Honorary Members need to be referred to.

One of these, from Professor Derenbourg, is of melancholy interest to-day, as the announcement of his death follows so closely upon the letter of acceptance of membership in this Society. The other, from Prof. Rhys Davids, explains a long delay in replying to your Secretary's notification as due to an almost fatal illness, from which he is now fortunately recovered.

Official notification of the death of three distinguished scholars has been received by the Secretary: Prof. Aufrecht, Prof. Gebauer, and Baron Victor Rosen. They were not members of this Society.

The Committee in charge of the arrangements for the next triennial Oriental Congress has sent the Secretary the various circulars announcing progress in completing their plans and has asked that this Society appoint official delegates to the Congress. The Commissioner of Education at Washington also desires the Society to name national delegates to this Congress for appointment by the Secretary of State.

Your Secretary in presenting this report completes the twelfth year of his service and has thought it proper to ask that you now relieve him of a task which, for the sake of the Society, he has been glad to perform, but for the sake of the Society, that it may enjoy the benefit of others' zeal, as well as for his own sake, that he may have a little more leisure, he is also glad to resign. It is a coincidence, discovered by the Secre-

tary himself only after he had formed the resolution of resigning, that the length of his term of office will almost exactly duplicate that of his predecessor in office, though alike in no other particular! Yet the long period has, he trusts, somewhat dimmed the recollection of the first realization of deterioration in service, inevitable on changing from an officer so efficient to one so inexpert. But your Secretary, though conscious of many lapses, has done what he could as well as he could and only hopes the good will with which he has served may help to obliterate the deficiencies of his service.

DEATHS.

The Secretary has to announce the death of the following members of the Society :

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Professor Franz Kielhorn.

Professor Hartwig Derenbourg.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. J. B. Sargent.

Professor Edward H. Strobel.

Rev. Theodore F. O. Wright.

In closing I should like to put on record the following note in regard to the exact meaning of the phrase "To nominate officers for the ensuing year" in the business of the Nominating Committee soon about to report. At the last meeting of the Society, question arose in regard to the time at which the tenure of office in this Society expired. It was said by the retiring President that his term expired immediately on the election of his successor. The question has been and is likely to be one of no practical importance, but on the other hand it is liable to be one of importance at any time, and obviously such a point should not be left in doubt. To explain the point it is necessary to remember that till the meeting of 1905 there was never any such question. Before this and including this meeting, election was held on the last session of the meeting and the new officers took office the next year. This was the "ensuing year" of the formula which has never been changed. At that meeting, in 1905, the nominating Committee recommended that "a committee on nominations for the next annual meeting be appointed at this meeting." This was done merely in order to give the nominating Committee more time to consider. For a like practical reason, at the next meeting the time when the report was presented was set on the first session instead of the last by myself as Secretary and arranger of the programme mainly because the election at the last session, usually on Saturday morning, had led at times to the election being held when there was a bare quorum present. I fear I am somewhat to blame in this substitution of one hour for another, without authority, but no objection was made to this change at the time and it was generally admitted to be a more suitable hour than the last hurried hour of the meeting. But the expression

"ensuing year" was not changed, and it was not intended that the officers thus elected should begin to hold office till the meeting at which they were elected should, on the Friday or Saturday following, terminate. That this was the sense of the Society is clear from the fact that the president elected for the first time in this manner retained the chair through the meeting, except when he asked some one else to take it for him, and himself appointed the Committee on Nominations and delivered the annual presidential address after the election of his successor. I, therefore, move that it be recorded as the sense of this Society that the tenure of office in this Society shall terminate at the close of the last session of each annual meeting.

Upon recommendation of the Corresponding Secretary it was voted that the tenure of the officers elected at the last meeting extends till the close of the present meeting, and so in future.

The report of the Treasurer was presented by the Acting Treasurer, Professor E. W. Hopkins, as follows :

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1907.

Receipts.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1906.....	\$ 320.61
Dues for 1907	\$957.02
“ for other years.....	170.00
“ for Section H. S. R.....	34.10
	<hr/>
	\$1,161.12
Sales of Journal.....	365.49
Life Membership	75.00
State Nat. Bank Dividends	83.00
Annual Interest from Savings Banks	42.44
	<hr/>
	1,727.05

Expenditures.

	\$2,047.66
T., M. & T. Co., printing vol. 27, second half.....	\$1,123.62
“ “ vol. 28, first half, pt. paym't	500.00
Binding	50.90
Librarian, express, postage	39.02
Secretary, editors, acting treasurer (for postage)	25.00
Honoraria for 1906 to editors.....	200.00
“ for 1907.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,988.54
Balance to general account	59.12
	<hr/>
	\$2,047.66

STATEMENT TO DEC. 31, 1907.

Bradley Type Fund.....	\$2,481.93
Cotheal Fund.....	1,107.38
State National Bank.....	1,950.00
Connecticut Savings Bank.....	6.03
National Savings Bank.....	11.67
Interest (Cotheal Fund).....	41.89
Interest, Savings Banks.....	.55
Cash on hand.....	102.93
	<hr/>
	\$5,702.38

Owing to lack of funds, due in part to increased cost of printing, the Honoraria to the editors for 1907 have been compounded in terms of life-membership, equivalent to \$75.00 to each editor, leaving \$25.00 to each paid in cash (as above entered).

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,

(Acting) Treasurer.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor C. C. Torrey, as follows :

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Acting Treasurer of this Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass-books and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY, */ Auditors.*
HANNS OERTEL, */*

NEW HAVEN, April 8, 1908.

The Librarian, Professor Hanns Oertel, presented his report as follows :

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian's report presented at the last meeting of the Society, at Philadelphia, contained a detailed statement of the present needs of our library, and ended with a plea for a regular yearly appropriation of \$400 to defray the necessary expenses of administration. This plea being unheeded, and in view of the condition of the treasury of the Society, no work whatsoever involving an outlay of money could be undertaken during the past year. Your librarian feels it his duty to repeat that he considers such a policy (which makes even the binding of current accessions impossible) extremely detrimental to the best interests of the

society. It is due only to the self-sacrifice and continued interest of Miss Margaret Whitney that work in the library has been kept up. As in the past two years, she has continued to give her time and services to the library, and the thanks of the Society are due her for whatever progress has been made in the arrangement of the library.

The letter sent out last year to various learned societies, requesting them to fill up lacunae in the sets of their publications, has met with most gratifying replies. A list of the periodicals now in the possession of our library will be appended to the next report.

Thanks are due to Mr. J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, for many favors, and to Mr. Gruener of the Yale Library for help in mailing, etc.

The report of the Editors of this Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey, was presented by Professor Hopkins, as follows:

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

Ordinarily this report has been presented by Prof. Torrey, but this year the Aryan editor wishes to present it, since he fears that Prof. Torrey will not do justice to the occasion. The material facts of publication scarcely vary from those of previous years. In September and February, respectively, were issued the two parts of volume twenty-eight, containing 436 pages in all, the first half having 197 pages. The annual announcement of an annual deficit is unavoidable if the Journal is to be continued in its present form and the Society is to depend on members dues for payment of its bills.

At the last meeting of the Society, Prof. Torrey resigned from the office of editor and another editor was appointed by the directors to fill his place. Too late it was discovered to be impossible for this newly appointed editor to take up the work. At great inconvenience and only from a spirit which led him to sacrifice himself for the good of the Society, Prof. Torrey nobly reassumed the burden he had laid down and did all the work for the year in his department, although he had taken up for the same period of time extra collegiate duties which he could not renounce. This is the point which Prof. Torrey's grateful co-editor feared would be inadequately treated, if Prof. Torrey presented the editor's report. Both editors have now resigned, after eight years of service, and the care of the Journal will henceforth be entirely in other hands.

Professors Moore and Jackson were appointed to prepare a minute expressing the gratitude of the Society to the retiring Editors of the Journal.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society:

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Professor Eduard Meyer, . M. Émile Senart.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. D. W. Amram,	Mr. Ishya Joseph,
Mr. H. H. Buck,	Mr. A. B. Keith,
Professor Renward Brandstetter,	Rev. Ferdinand Lugschneider,
Professor H. C. Butler,	Mrs. A. H. Munsell,
Mr. A. S. Cochran,	Rev. W. E. Nies,
Mr. W. B. Christie,	Professor P. M. Rhinelanders,
Mr. W. R. P. Davey, Ph.D.	Rev. J. L. Scully,
Mr. H. S. Davidson, Ph.D.	Rev. F. A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D.
	Rev. A. E. Whatham.

As a partial recognition of the services freely rendered by Miss Margaret Whitney in cataloguing the library of the Society, she was elected a life member, without fee.

The committee appointed at Philadelphia to nominate officers for the ensuing year (Messrs. Jewett, Gray, and Barton—see *Journal*, Vol. xxviii, p. 417) reported through Professor Jewett, as follows :

President—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven, Conn.

Vice-Presidents—Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward, of New York : Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore : Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore.
Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named : and President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Washington ; Professors Crawford H. Toy and C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge ; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago ; Professor Richard Gottheil, of New York ; Professor Henry Hyvernats, of Washington ; Professor Charles Torrey, of New Haven.

The officers thus nominated were unanimously elected.

The President appointed the following Committee to nominate officers at the first session of the next annual meeting : Professors Francis Brown, Torrey, Oertel.

On motion of Professor Barton the appointment of delegates to the Oriental Congress to be held in Copenhagen was referred to the Directors, with power.

On motion of Professor Toy, Professors R. F. Harper, G. A. Reisner, and J. H. Breasted were appointed to represent the

Society at the International Congress of Archæologists to meet in Cairo in April, 1909.

At twelve o'clock President Lanman delivered his annual address, on "The Aims, the Work, and the Needs of the American Oriental Society."

At half-past twelve the Society proceeded to the reading of a communication by Dr. J. E. Abbott, of Bombay,—Indian inscriptions on the fire-temple at Baku.—Remarks by Professors Jackson and Lanman.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess till half-past two.

At half-past two the Society met for its second session, at which the reading of papers was continued.

The following communications were presented:

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, On an Old Babylonian letter addressed "to Lushtamar."

Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, On some disguised forms of Sanskrit *paśu* 'cattle.'—On the supposititious value of the root *raps*.—Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.

Doctor G. A. Grierson, of Camberley, England, Note on Professor Prince's article on English-Romany Jargon in JAOS. xxviii. 2, presented by Professor Hopkins, in summary.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, A Mac-cabean Talisman.

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University, Vedic Concordance.—Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Notes.

Professor Christopher Johnston, of Johns Hopkins University, Assyrian *qanānu* 'to coil'; and *varāpu* 'to abound'; presented in abstract by Professor Haupt.

Doctor Michelson, of Ridgefield, Conn., Some additions to the Vedic Concordance, and A Linguistic study of the Vāyu Purāṇa, with some notes on the Padma and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.—Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., St. Petersburg, Notes on the making of palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam; presented by the Secretary, by title.

Rev. Mr. Watson, of West New York, The Date of the Nablus Abishua Pentateuch Roll; presented by the Secretary, by title.

Professor Bolling, of the Catholic University of America, The *Paśiṣṭas* of the Atharva Veda, edited with a critical commentary by G. M. Bolling and J. v. Negelein.—Remarks by Professor Bloomfield and Professor Bolling.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, The Biblical phrase "Upon whom my name was called."

Professor Lanman exhibited some of the publications of Nirnaya Sagara Press, which may be got from Harrassowitz-Leipzig.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned till Friday morning at half-past nine.

The Society met on Friday morning at a quarter of ten o'clock, in the Lecture Room of the Semitic Museum. The following communications were presented:

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University, Yahva (Yahu) as Epithet of Fire; Fire as mediator and avenger.—Remarks by Professors Toy, Moore, Hopkins and Lanman.

Doctor Koenig, of Columbia University, Life of the Holy Xenophon; read by the Corresponding Secretary, by title.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, The Division of Words in Sanskrit.—Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Professors Bloomfield and Hopkins.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, The Babylonian Ideogram GUG (Brünnow, No. 1369).—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, On certain work in continuance of the Vedic Concordance.—Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.

Dr. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, The so-called half-opened syllable in Hebrew; read by the Corresponding Secretary, by title.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Some Assyrian Etymologies.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University, Nishapur, the home of Omar Khayyam.

At twelve the Society took recess till half-past two o'clock.

The Society resumed its session at 3 o'clock. Professor Hopkins reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held in New York, N. Y., beginning on April 15, 1909.

The Directors further reported that they had appointed Professor Hanns Oertel and Professor James R. Jewett editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the President and Fellows of Harvard University, to the Colonial Club, and to the Harvard Union, for the courtesies which they have extended to the Society during this meeting; and to the Committee of Arrangements for the provisions they have made for its entertainment.

The President appointed Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson a Committee on Arrangements for the next meeting; also Professors Torrey and Oertel to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

On motion of Professor Jackson the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The Society desires to express to Professor Hopkins and Professor Torrey its sincere thanks for their admirable services as Editors of the *Journal* for a number of years, and to record its thanks in a formal manner.

On motion of Doctor William H. Ward, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we most gratefully recognize the faithful and assiduous labors of Professor E. Washburn Hopkins as Corresponding Secretary of the American Oriental Society for the last twelve years. The thanks of the Society are hereby presented to Professor Hopkins for his many acceptable services in our behalf.

At ten minutes after three the reading of communications was resumed. The following papers were presented:

Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, The Harvard Expedition to Samaria.

Professor W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, Some manners and costumes of Western Asia according to new Egyptian sources (illustrated).

Mrs. S. B. Scott, of Philadelphia, The Harvest Festivals of the Land Dyaks.—Remarks by Professors Toy and Bloomfield.

Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York, The Origin of the Yahweh Worship.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, Concerning "Hiram-abi," the Phoenician craftsman.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, On the Babylonian Origin of Plato's Mystic Number.

At half-past five the Society adjourned to meet in New York, April 15, 1909.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, FEBRUARY, 1909.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER, vii Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague. Bohemia. (Königliche Weinbirge, Kramerius-gasse 40.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde, Monument Str.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François, Paris France. 1908.

- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
Prof. JULIUS WELHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.
Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890. [Total, 23.]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.
Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
F. STURGES ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.
Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
DAVID W. AMRAM, 1416 South Penn Sq., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Dr. KANICHI ASAKAWA (Yale Univ.), 870 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1904.
Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. J. CULLEN AYER (P. E. Divinity School), 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
Miss ALICE M. BACON, 351 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. LEROY CARL BARRET, Princeton, N. J. 1903.
Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 232 East 11th St., New York. 1894.
Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.
HAROLD H. BENDER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1906.
Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.
Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
GEORGE F. BLACK, Ph.D., Lenox Library, Fifth Ave. and 70th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), Dixon Park, Mt. Washington, Md. 1900.
Rev. PHILIP BLANC, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1907.
Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.
Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Protest. Syrian College, Beirut, Syria.
FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.
- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Catholic Univ. of America), 1410 M St., Washington, D. C. 1896.
- Prof. REXWARD BRANDSTETTER, Villenstr. 14, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1908.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.
- Dr. PAUL BRÖNNLE, 73 Burdett Ave., Westcliff-on-Sea, England. 1903.
- Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- HAMMOND H. BUCK, Division Sup't. Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. SIMEON J. CARR, 1527 Church St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, care Hon. F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury, Conn. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, Trinity Church, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- WALTER E. CLARK, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 415 South 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
- Rev. Dr. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, Yonkers, N. Y. 1908.
- GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, 23 Park St., Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
- C. EVERETT CONANT, care of W. W. Price, Dalton Station, Ill. 1905.
- WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.
- Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
- Dr. WILLIAM R. P. DAVEY (Harvard Univ.), 21 Mellen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. HAROLD S. DAVIDSON, Semitic Department, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1908.

- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.
- Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Madison, Wis. 1900.
- JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- DAVID J. DOHERTY, M.D., 456 Lasalle Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.
- Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. M. W. EASTON, 224 South 43d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1872.
- Prof. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.
- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University. 1902.
- Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, The Jumna Mission House, Allahâbâd, N. W. P., India. 1900.
- Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
- Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 16 Love Lane, Shanghai, China. 1900.
- Prof. RALPH HALL FERRIS (Theological Seminary), 45 Warren Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.
- CLARENCE STANLAY FISHER, 4152 Parkside Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- * Lady CAROLINE DE FILIPPI FITZ GERALD, 167 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1886.
- Rev. WALLACE B. FLEMING, Maplewood, N. J. 1906.
- Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Prof. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1907.
- MARQUIS ANTOINE FRABASILIS, 1017 East 187th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.
- Rev. Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
- Prof. J. B. GAME, State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1907.
- Dr. FLETCHER GARDNER, 202 East Kirkwood Ave., Bloomington, Ind. 1905.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- Miss FLORENCE A. GRAGG, 26 Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1907.
- Mrs. ETHEL WATTS MUMFORD GRANT, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.
- Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 462 West 151st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
- Rev. Dr. W. M. GROTON, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
- CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
- * GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmain, and Raheng). 1902.
- PAUL V. HARPER, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
- Prof. SAMUEL HART, D.D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore. 1883.
- Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- EDWARD A. HENRY, 70 Middle Divinity, University of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 807 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM J. HINKE, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
- * Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
- Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. FRANKLIN W. HOOPER, 502 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- * Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- CHAS. E. HORNE, 5836 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Rev. Dr. THOMAS P. HUGHES, Kings Park, Long Island, N. Y. 1905.
- Rev. Dr. ROBERT E. HUME, Ahmednagar, India. 1900.
- Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
- Miss MARY INDA HUSSEY, "Wood," Wellesley, Mass. 1901.

- HENRY MINOR HUXLEY, 1550 Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill. 1902.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
 JOHN DAY JACKSON, 86 Crown St., New Haven, Conn. 1905.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, 5757 Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1887.
 Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
 ISHYA JOSEPH, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
 Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
 Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Dr. NICHOLAS A. KOENIG, 80 West 12th St. New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Rev. GEORGE A. KOHUT, 781 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Miss LUCILE KOHN, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 * Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
 Dr. ROBERT JULIUS LAU, 650 Leonard St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
 * HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
 C. S. LEAVENWORTH, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, England. 1900.
 Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
 Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Schweighäuser Str. 24th, Strassburg, i/Els., Germany. 1902.
 PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
 Rev. FERDINAND LUGSCHEIDER, 3823 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 * BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
 Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
 ALBERT MORTON LYTHERG, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Mrs. MATILDA R. MCCONNELL, 108 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.
 Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

- Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, 37 Bayview Ave., South Norwalk, Conn. 1898.
- WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st Lieut. 11th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. 1904.
- Dr. ALBERT A. MADSEN (Western Reserve Univ.), 1777 East 116th St., Cleveland, O. 1906.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, 3228 Montgomery Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- ISAAC G. MATTHEWS (McMaster Univ.), 509 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1906.
- J. RENWICK METHENY, "Duvid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 22 St. Francis Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, R. F. D. 48, Ridgefield, Conn. 1899.
- Prof. LUCIUS H. MILLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
- Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford Univ.), 119 Ifley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
- ROLAND H. MODE, 5836 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Dr. JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, 8 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- * Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Burlington, Wis. 1906.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. JAS. B. NIES, Hotel Margaret, Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM E. NIES, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS T. O'CONNELL, D.D. (Catholic Univ.), Washington, D. C. 1903.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 250 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1906.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.

- * ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- Dr. JOHN ORNE, 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES RAY PALMER, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. 1903.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAYAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
- Dr. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Prof. F. P. RAMSAY (S. W. Presbyterian Univ.), Clarksville, Tenn. 1889.
- Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, The Pyramids, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
- Prof. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. 1902.
- BENJ. W. ROBINSON, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Peking, China. 1880.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 3637 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, O. 1894.
- Mrs. JANET E. RUTZ-REES, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.
- Miss CATHARINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ARTHUR W. RYDER (Univ. of California), 2337 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1902.
- Mrs. EDW. E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
- Pres. FRANK K. SANDERS, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.
- JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heeren-gracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.
- Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jr., First Secretary of the American Embassy, St. Petersburg, Russia. 1899.

- GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, 609 Hitt St., Columbia, Mo. 1906.
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.
* Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 78 Higashi Sambancho, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
J. HERBERT SENTER, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1870.
Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 65 Irving Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
* The Very Rev. JOHN R. SLATTERY, 261 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1903.
Captain C. C. SMITH, Presidio of San Francisco, Cal. 1907.
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1877.
Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. HANS H. SPOER, Jerusalem, Syria. 1899.
Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal. 1899.
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
Prof. WILLIAM C. THAYER, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1907.
EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
Rev. Dr. J. J. TIERNEY, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, 1113 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
* Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY (Yale Univ.), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Rev. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 20 Holton St., Allston, Boston, Mass. 1892.
Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.

- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
 Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
 Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, Hudson Co., New Jersey. 1893.
 Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
 Rev. ARTHUR E. WHATHAM, 3318 High Ave., Louisville, Ky. 1908.
 Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
 Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
 * Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
 Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
 Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Rev. E. T. WILLIAMS, American Consulate General, Tientsin, China. 1901.
 Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
 Dr. TALCOTT WILLIAMS ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPILEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
 Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 46 East 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
 Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1228 Mound St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
 WILLIAM W. WOOD, 2210 North Fulton Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. JAMES OWENS WRIGHTSON, 812 20th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1903.
 Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.

[Total, 279]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
 SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
 Prof. PATTERSON DU BOIS, 401 South 40th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
 Prof. FRANKLIN GIDDINGS, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.

- Prof. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 M. A. LANE, 451 Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1907.
 Prof. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON (Harvard Univ.), Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Am. Mission, Urumia, Persia (via Berlin and Tabriz). 1906.
 Pres. LANGDON C. STEWARDSON, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1901.
 Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1904.
 Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.
 Rev. G. E. WHITE, Anatolia College, Marsovan, Turkey [papers to German Consulate (White), Samsoun, Turkey.] 1906.
 Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.

[Total, 17.]

Number of Members of all Classes, 319.

SOCIETIES, LIBRARIES, TO WHICH THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN
 ORIENTAL SOCIETY ARE SENT BY WAY OF GIFT, EXCHANGE
 OR PURCHASE.

I. AMERICA.

- BOSTON, MASS.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
 CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Museum of Natural History.
 NEW YORK: American Geographical Society.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.
 Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penna.
 WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
 Bureau of American Ethnology.
 WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
 PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.
 FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine. Palais de l'Institut.)
 Bibliothèque Nationale.
 Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
 Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
 GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Königliche Bibliothek.
 Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeug-
 hause 1.)

GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)

MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.

GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)

Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)

Society of Biblical Archæology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)

Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnival, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.

ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.

RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.

Archeologiji Institut.

SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

III. ASIA.

CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA: Home Department.

CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHINA, SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

TONKIN: l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.

INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)

CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)

The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.

SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Benmore, Simla, Punjab.)

JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

KOREA: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.

NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: The Ethnological Survey, Manila.

SYRIA: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).

Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.

Al-Machriq, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria.

IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

- The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).
 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).
 Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. D. Karl Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)
 Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer Str., Munich, Bavaria).
 The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 438 East 57th St., Chicago, Ill.
 American Journal of Archaeology. 65 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. F. G. Moore, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.).
 Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Upsala, Sweden).

VI. LIBRARIES.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institution or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

- Andover Theological Seminary.
 Boston Public Library.
 Brown University Library.
 Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Library Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Chicago University Library.
 Columbia University Library.
 Cornell University Library.
 Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.
 Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.
 Harvard University Library.
 Nebraska University Library.
 New York Public Library.
 Yale University Library.

RECIPIENTS: 319 (Members) + 71 (Gifts and Exchanges) + 13 (Libraries) = 403.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

Until further notice the

Publications of the American Oriental Society

will be sold as follows:

1. Members of the Society receive the current number of the Society's Journal free of charge.

2. To those who are not members of the Society the price of the current volume is six dollars, carriage to be paid by the purchaser.

3. The back volumes of the Journal will be sold separately as follows:

*Vol. I (1843-1849).....	\$25	Vol. XVI (1894-1896).....	\$6
Vol. II (1851).....	5	Vol. XVII (1896).....	4
Vol. III (1852-1853).....	5	Vol. XVIII (1897).....	6
Vol. IV (1853-1854).....	5	Vol. XIX (1898).....	6
Vol. V (1855-1856).....	5	Vol. XX (1899).....	6
*Vol. VI (1860).....	20	Vol. XXI (1900).....	6
Vol. VII (1862).....	6	Vol. XXII (1901).....	6
Vol. VIII (1866).....	8	Vol. XXIII (1902).....	6
Vol. IX (1871).....	8	Vol. XXIV (1903).....	6
Vol. X (1872-1880).....	8	Vol. XXV (1904).....	6
Vol. XI (1882-1885).....	6	Vol. XXVI (1905).....	6
Vol. XII (1881).....	6	Vol. XXVII (1906).....	6
Vol. XIII (1889).....	8	Vol. XXVIII (1907).....	6
Vol. XIV (1890).....	6	Vol. XXIX (1908-1909).....	5
Vol. XV (1893).....	6		

*Only a very limited number of volumes I and VI can be sold separately.

4. To members back numbers of the Journal will be sold at a discount of 25 per cent. A discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed to public libraries and to the libraries of educational institutions.

5. A limited number of complete sets (vol. I-vol. XXIX) will be sold at the price of \$175, carriage to be paid by the purchaser.

6. The following separate prints are for sale:

H. G. O. Dwight, Catalogue of works in the Armenian language prior to the seventeenth century.....	\$5.00
N. Khanikoff, Book of the Balance of Wisdom.....	5.00
Burgess, Sūrya-Siddhanta.....	8.00
Paspati, Memoir on the language of the Gypsies in the Turkish Empire.....	5.00
L. H. Gulick, Panape Dialect.....	2.50
Whitney's Tāittiriya-Prāṭicākhyā.....	6.00
Avery's Sanskrit Verb-Inflection.....	3.00
Whitney's Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda.....	6.00
The same on large paper.....	8.00
Hopkins's Position of the Ruling Caste.....	5.00
Oertel's Jāiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.....	2.50
Arnold's Historical Vedic Grammar.....	2 50
Bloomfield's Kāuṇika-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda.....	8.00
The Whitney Memorial volume.....	3.00

All communications concerning the Library should be addressed to HANNS OERTEL, 2 Phelps Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

GENERAL NOTICES.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Prof. Frederick Wells Williams, 135 Whitney avenue, New Haven, Conn.

2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: The Library of the American Oriental Society, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America.

3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. James Richard Jewett, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., or Prof. Hanns Oertel, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is \$5. The fee for Life-Membership is \$75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is \$2; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.

N.C

